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*NEW SERIES. VOL. XXXVII*

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JANUARY—JUNE, 1911

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12/2/7  
11/3/12

The University of Chicago Press  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BS  
410  
B58  
n.s.  
v.37

Published  
January, February, March, April, May, June, 1911

Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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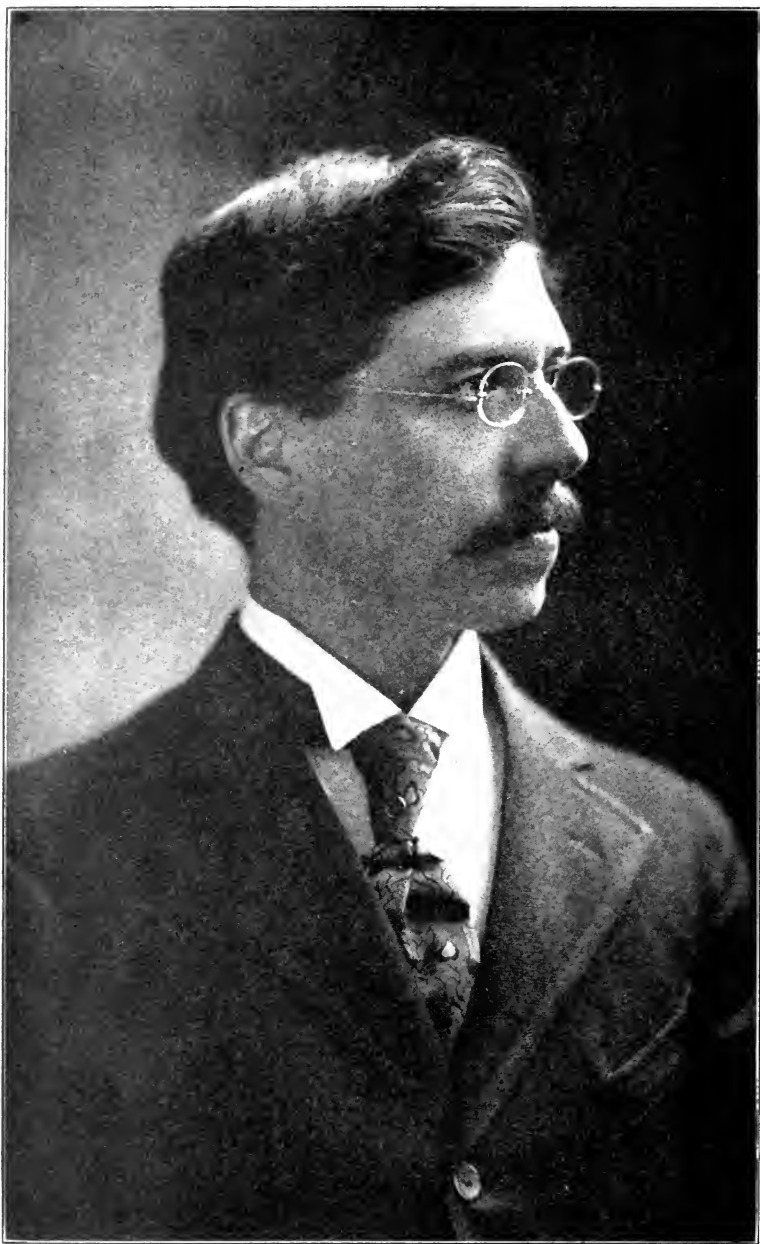
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REV. HENRY F. COPE  
General Secretary of the Religious Education Association

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

JANUARY, 1911

NUMBER I

## Editorial

### WORLD-WIDE EVANGELISM

Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was there, prophets and teachers, Barnabas, and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Then when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

### THE AMBITION OF THE EARLY MISSIONARIES

It was an important moment in the history of the Christian church when Barnabas and Saul, soon to be known as Paul and Barnabas, set out westward from Antioch. It was not then for the first time that Paul had conceived the hope of being himself the bearer of the gospel to the Gentiles. This thought had in all probability been in his mind almost from the moment of his acceptance of Jesus as the Son of God. But the time had now come when he could definitely, and with the support and sympathy of a Christian community, enter upon the task. A few years later he wrote from Corinth to the Romans that he had fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, that is, had completed his work in Syria, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, and though temporarily compelled to go to Jerusalem, was looking with hope and longing to Rome and Spain. From the point of view of that later hour, it is evident that the planting of the gospel in the centers of population and influence in the Roman empire was the task which the two apostles began when they sailed from Antioch, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that, in the mind of Paul at least, the thought and hope of this achievement were already at that time kindled in his heart. It was with a large

ambition—in the eyes of Jew, Greek, and Roman, a foolish ambition—that the two young apostles crossed the strip of water between Syria and Cyprus. But it was ambition that the ultimate outcome of their efforts has more than justified.

#### THE BASIS OF THIS AMBITION

If we seek the explanation of this daring ambition and the courage to undertake its realization, we find it in three facts.

The explanation lies first in the broad horizon of Paul's thought. Professor Ramsay has rightly directed our attention to the fact that Paul was an imperialist in feeling. He was a Roman citizen, and thought not of Jerusalem or of Tarsus, not of Judea or of Cilicia, as his country, but of the Roman empire. To him it was natural in formulating his plan for the spread of the gospel to define its scope in terms of the empire, and to set no limit to it but those of the empire.

The explanation lies, secondly, in the fact that the apostle's experience had led him to leave behind many of the elements of the ancient Jewish religion which both to the Jewish particularist, and the Jerusalem type of Christian were essential, but which to the Greek and the Roman were serious obstacles to their acceptance of either Judaism or Christianity. The controversy centered at a later time largely around the question of circumcision. But before he left Antioch Paul had already settled that question in his own mind, and with it had decided the much larger question of the authority of ancient statutes in general which were no longer conducive to the development of moral and religious life. For him new occasions gave rise to new duties, and new experiences emancipated from old obligations. Old convictions based on ancient revelation could never become contemptible, but neither could they hold the field or bind the conscience as against new convictions based on deep and convincing, even though modern, experience. Religion is not rites and ceremonies; it is not statutes and commands: it is the open mind, and the ready will; it is faith in God revealed in Christ, begetting love toward men. Now abide faith, hope, and love. All else is but expression of these, and may change with changing needs.

The explanation of the apostle's ambition is found, in the third place, in an intense conviction of the power of the gospel when thus reduced to its simple terms. He was not ashamed of the gospel; for he was fully persuaded that it was the power of God unto salvation for every one that believed. In the laboratory of an intense religious experience he had wrought out for himself certain fundamental and unshakable convictions. Converted by his Damascus vision from a zealous Phariseism to a firm faith in Jesus, from a rigid legalism to a joyous life by the Spirit, he had confirmed the new conviction of that crucial hour by years of devout faith in Christ bearing fruit in the arduous toil of love, and by long observation of the effects of his gospel in the lives of others.

#### THE BROAD HORIZON OF MODERN CHRISTIANITY

Looking out upon our world at the beginning of another new year, is it fanciful for us to find a parallel between Paul's situation and ours? Commerce and navigation, the telegraph and the cable, the missionary and the world traveler, have given us also a wide horizon. Indeed, we have almost reached the limit of possibility in this direction. Future generations may reach the south pole as this one has reached the north, they may extend their explorations, their railways and steamship lines, into territory now only imperfectly accessible, they may learn to sail the air as now we sail the seas. But no new continents can be discovered, the earth cannot be enlarged, nor can other planets be reached by steamship or railway. We have practically reached the end of the process of enlarging our horizon.

#### THE SHORTENING OF ITS CREED

The progress of biblical and theological science has tended to reduce the extent of our theological creed. Much that previous generations thought essential we are beginning to learn is not vital, and to suspect that insistence upon it hinders the spread of our religion among the nations of the earth. Indeed it is becoming constantly more evident that many of the things which have been obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity by non-Christian peoples are hindrances also to its effectiveness at home. The shortening of

creed, which Jesus and Paul found so necessary in their day, is not less needful in ours.

#### THE PARAMOUNT NEED: POSITIVE FAITH

But what shall we say concerning the third element that gave to Paul and Barnabas the courage to enter upon their world-horized enterprise: intensity of positive conviction? For if we are to rank any one of the three grounds of their ambition above the other two, it is this that must be reckoned most essential. Unfortunately it sometimes happens that the surrender of the untrue or the doubtful begets a habit of surrender that leaves one without deep or strong convictions, and consequently without enthusiasm. It was not so with Paul. It need not be so, it must not be so, with this generation. There is ample ground for faith in the eternal truths that stand forth only the more clearly when they are unencumbered by doctrines that have been superseded by larger truth. There is ample reason in past experience and in that of the present for firm conviction and enthusiastic devotion to high tasks. With horizon enlarged to its utmost limits, with all the nations brought within the field of our vision and of our efforts, with clearer light by which to discriminate between the basal truths that abide and the temporary expression of this truth in relation to passing circumstances and needs, the times call for, and the facts warrant, a positive and enthusiastic faith, a zealous and at the same time a rational evangelism.

It is the positive truths that we hold, moreover, that will be effective. It was not the armor that David rejected that won him his victory; it was the weapon and the strength that he retained. It is not the encumbering cloak that the woodman throws aside that enables him to fell the mighty tree; it is his strong arm and his keen-edged axe. What we have happily freed ourselves from, others may need our help to lay aside. But it is truth retained, not what is rejected, that nourishes the soul and makes strong the arm. Faith in and fellowship with the living and true God, revealed through Jesus Christ, and that love for our fellow-men which such faith begets—these are positives, not negatives, and they are the central elements of the gospel which is the power of God unto salvation for Jew and Gentile alike.

## MODERN BELIEF ABOUT JESUS

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At a very early date Jesus was given a position in the reverence and worship of his followers nearly identical with that of God. This attitude was maintained almost constantly and universally by succeeding generations of believers, yet it is also true that no one scheme of christological doctrine can be said to have dominated theology from the beginning, and it is probably safe to assume that there has never existed, even at any given period, absolute uniformity of opinion about Jesus. Among the earliest Christians he was interpreted chiefly in terms of Jewish messianic expectations; but when the new religion passed over to Greek soil much emphasis came to be placed upon metaphysical speculation, the type of speculation varying as time advanced to suit ideas current in successive periods of Christian thought. During the course of Christianity's extension and development there has been the constant necessity of adjusting christological dogma to the new ideas of each new age.

It is not at all strange, therefore, that we should ask, What can we believe about Jesus today? An evaluation of him in terms of modern thought is inevitable. Many persons may still be satisfied with some form of traditional Christology, but there are others who feel compelled to adopt, in their treatment of religious problems, the methods of critical inquiry which they recognize as valid for other fields of study and a world-view which harmonizes with the data of modern knowledge. If Jesus is to have vital significance for their religion, interpretation of him must rest upon careful historical research regarding his career and be phrased in the language of present-day thought.

The motive of this effort to understand Jesus anew should not be misunderstood. An expression of doubt regarding the validity of the older view is sometimes looked upon as an attempt to dis-

parage Jesus; but, on the contrary, its real aim is to obtain a more adequate means of appreciating his worth. One may question whether the first interpreters' speculations about Jesus can lay any stronger claim to finality than can their cosmology, but the world has not lost its meaning because it has been newly interpreted—in fact, it has taken on a much larger meaning. If it is assumed that Jesus' chief significance lies in the speculative garments which his early followers cast about him then there is danger that he lose prestige; but if he is discovered to have had essential worth quite apart from their theology the attempt to estimate his significance from the standpoint of modern thinking is scarcely to be feared. Therefore we may freely question, What can one, who critically estimates the historicity of the sources and holds a modern scientific world-view, believe about Jesus?

We are sometimes asked to state exactly what historical study has fixed upon as the pure facts about the earthly Jesus. Can it tell us whether he was miraculously born, whether he was really God, whether his physical body was raised from the tomb, and other questions of a similar character? To answer candidly, the historian cannot give a final reply to inquiries of this sort. He can observe the place of these items in the early faith, the probable date of their appearance in the literature, and the special theological interest which they were made to serve, but he cannot produce a mathematical demonstration either for or against their validity. There are two main reasons why he cannot do so. In the first place, his earliest sources of information were not given literary form until a generation or more after the events, and so the narratives are liable to be colored by the pious fancy of the primitive age. Indeed, if first-hand documents from the Twelve were extant one would still need to question whether the vivid imaginations of the first believers and their early theological interests had not influenced their reports. In the second place, these problems are primarily speculative rather than historical; the question of the quality of the phenomena is involved, and it cannot be answered apart from some metaphysical theory. Nor is a type of historical study which is content with determining the content of primitive belief sufficient for our purpose. Much of the phraseology and



many of the thought-forms of primitive Christianity do not correspond to modern men's ideas of what constitutes the highest values in our world of thought, therefore they cannot supply the content of our belief about Jesus. This is not strange when we remember that modern scientific ideas, the evolutionary interpretation of the world, the comparative study of religions, and the present complex conditions of society must of necessity enter into the making of any vital type of modern religious thinking.

Perhaps the fundamental difficulty with much of the older interpretation is the extent and character of its emphasis upon the supernatural. Many now feel that this way of picturing God's relation to human life and history is too mechanical to give a religiously adequate estimate of Jesus. According to the newer world-view, unprecedented and seemingly extraordinary events in history need not be assigned to other-world causes in order to give them significance. This world is now far richer in reality than it was for the ancients. Then it was barren and narrow and could be enriched only from without, while for moderns the enrichment has come increasingly from within. In proportion as the conquest of the normal has enlarged, confidence in it has increased, and the need for the abnormal has gradually disappeared. This is no impoverishment of the spiritual possibilities of the universe, but it does mean the elimination of externalism, freakishness, and arbitrary intervention in the normal world-order. So it follows that in interpreting Jesus, the category of supernaturalism is felt by many to be an inadequate way of picturing his worth—not because he has lost significance but because the category has done so. This situation is seen more definitely, for example, in the use which has been made of certain terms to indicate the idea of his deity—terms which no longer fitly answer to the conception of deity even when they are used of God himself. To be sure, it was inevitable that primitive thought upon this subject should move in the realm of physical relations, employing such ideas as defiance of the course of nature, unlimited exercise of the powers of sense, and the like; but today more comprehensive and spiritual terms are needed to express the idea of God and his relation to men.

Historical study renders a more practical service for modern

needs when it seeks to discover the ground rather than the content of the first disciples' belief. On the one hand Jesus was for them the exalted heavenly Messiah worthy of the highest form of interpretation afforded by the ideas of the time; on the other he was a historical individual with whom they had had intimate personal association, the memory of which lay behind their later theological thinking. Grant that they were often uncritical in their thinking, that they often expounded their own ideas rather than his, concede the possibility that their story of his infancy was myth, and that their belief in his resurrection was illusory, yet a very powerful influence must have emanated from their contact with him in order to support their strong, bold type of interpretation, and to inspire the loyal quality of life which they exemplified.

It is beyond question that the resurrection faith, however attained, was a powerful factor in determining early ideas about the earthly Jesus; Jewish messianism doubtless also offered a rich store of interpretative material; and probably both of these things took precedence in the disciples' minds over any purely historical interest. Yet even in the tradition as it now stands it is perfectly clear that neither the anticipation of Jesus' resurrection nor a general belief in his messiahship had occupied a central place in his life of fellowship with his disciples. The earliest gospel tradition is explicit in stating that the predictions of his resurrection fell upon deaf ears; while their belief in his messiahship did not take form until near the close of his ministry, and even then it was a somewhat faltering hope which quickly vanished under the shadow of the cross. We are not to imagine that their memory of the historical Jesus was in any large measure at first linked with these interpretative ideas. That this fact can be seen in the present form of the tradition is all the more significant in view of the special needs for the framers of the tradition to show that the later faith in the risen and exalted Messiah was consonant with the disciples' actual recollections of Jesus. We may believe that the feature in his life which made the most abiding impression at the time was not any claim of his to official dignity, either for the present or for the future, but the strength of his own forceful personality; indeed it may be that we shall not go far astray if we

think of this as a very essential factor in the genesis of the resurrection faith as well as in stimulating the first Christians' messianic belief.

The success of the new religious movement was no doubt largely due to this force of Jesus' personality, expressed and perpetuated in the work of his disciples. Judas of Gamala, Barcochba, and even John the Baptist, seem to have had quite as many adherents to preserve their memory as did Jesus, and the circumstances which attended them were hardly more adverse than those through which he passed; yet their cause failed while his succeeded—a significant testimony to the vital impress his personality left upon his disciples. The exceptional manner in which he awakened the deeper elements of religious faith gave the new religion a stimulus through which it conquered even so stubborn a foe as Saul of Tarsus.

It is natural, therefore, to seek the basal element for present belief in a study of the real content of Jesus' life. In this way the perplexities of ecclesiastical dogma may be escaped without sacrificing the essential thing which inspired the creeds and yet sometimes eluded them. Failure to recognize that the personal religious life of Jesus lay at the basis of all genuine interpretation seems to have been the weakness of theologians from the beginning. While the first disciples were deeply impressed by their association with Jesus they were not content merely to tell the story of his life, they preferred to set in the foreground their own inferences about the meaning of his career; and eventually the efforts of later believers to account for the original force of his personality became entangled in grave logical difficulties regarding such problems as how he could be both truly God and truly man, or how he could be God by the side of God himself and yet Christians hold to belief in only one God. The creed makers' efforts to fix the content of belief by much definition of phrases may have answered the needs of their day, but modern interpretation must go behind the dogmas which have gathered about Jesus and at least take its starting-point from the actual content of his earthly life.

What was there about him that led his associates to esteem him as they did? It will be safer to set aside for the moment all accounts

of his alleged claims to official dignity and to look at the gospel picture of his everyday life and teaching, noting especially those items which seem to be preserved without any evidently apologetic intent. Many features of his career were too deeply impressed upon the disciples' minds to be eclipsed even by the new faith in the exalted Messiah whose earthly career counted for so little theologically in comparison with his present heavenly dignity. For example, in contrast with the tendency manifest in certain portions of the tradition to set him above the ordinary experiences of humanity, the gospels preserve a very life-like picture of the genuineness of his daily experiences; he grew weary with toil, he lacked worldly possessions, he was the victim of scheming enemies, and even his spiritual life needed the constant support of a prayerful appeal to God. Yet in this lowliness his followers felt the peculiar power of his unselfish solicitude for the welfare of others. Not only were they led to admire his ideal, but they were inspired to cultivate a similar type of life for themselves.

Again, in recalling the daily relation of master to disciple they show another phase of his unique influence upon them. It was natural enough for a teacher in those days to have a group of followers, yet the discipleship to which<sup>c</sup> Jesus called men was distinctive. The incentive which he held out was not an appeal to their self-interest but an opportunity to serve others—by following him they were to become fishers of men. Their motives must be unselfish, they must aim to make absolute choice of God's will, and to realize for themselves a life of true sonship to God. They are to follow God as he did, and this ideal is best attained by becoming followers of him inasmuch as he has a peculiarly clear vision of the Father's will. Their memory of this ethical and spiritual sanity of their master probably stood the early Christians in good stead later, when the ecstatic side of the church's life threatened to become unduly prominent.

Similarly in the memory of Jesus' work as teacher they find him unique. His hearers were often astonished at his direct expression of personal conviction in contrast with the usual method of referring to Rabbi So-and-so. He criticized current interpretations of the law and also passed judgment upon certain things

in the law itself: some of its requirements were too lax and some were too severe. In the content of his message in general, there is the same impression of superiority due to his keen spiritual insight. He shocked contemporary religious teachers by announcing the forgiveness of sins on conditions very different from those then generally recognized as valid, he simplified the problem of salvation by making a life of spiritual fellowship with God fundamental, and he fixed and at the same time elevated all ideals of human conduct by setting up as the supreme test the quality of godlikeness.

In all this the disciples must have felt that Jesus' superiority rested upon the force of his own character. They do not represent him as a mere automaton mechanically uttering the divine oracles, nor was his message what might be called a mere product of his intellectualism, but it had been wrought out in his own spiritual experience and clarified by his sense of constant fellowship with God. They also remembered that he wished them to cultivate a genuine heart-life. He addressed himself to their inner consciousness, and the superior character of his own inward motives gave special force to his message.

Notwithstanding the prominence given to miracles in the early tradition respecting Jesus, his disciples do not seem to have thought of these as the real test of his superiority. They reported that his working of wonders was conditioned upon the proper spiritual setting: his power was grounded in a life of spiritual union with God; there was an occasion when he would not turn stones into bread, and there were times when he could not perform any miracles; but limitations of this sort were not thought to imply his inferiority on such occasions. Indeed, at just these moments of seeming failure his superiority appears most distinctly in the clarity of his spiritual vision. His right to a unique place was not conditioned by his power or lack of power to do mighty works; it was in the realm of the spiritual that he chiefly and most truly displayed his supremacy.

This picture of the historical Jesus, preserved in the memory of his disciples in spite of their efforts at theological elaboration, constitutes a substantial basis for reflection in modern times. It

is not strange that his early followers should have ultimately made him the object of their worship, or that men today should be similarly moved; but we must not lose sight of the fundamental fact that his personal religion rather than the religion about him is of fundamental importance—he lived religiously and thus inspired believers to live similarly.

What, finally, is to be the content of modern belief about this person? If one's world-view is such that special value attaches to alleged happenings lying outside the course of natural law, the terminology of the ancient faith may be retained; others may resort to the speculative notions of later times, adopting, for example, the Hegelian postulate of the divine idea, thus removing the miracle from the physical sphere into the realm of ideas; while still others may wish to level all thought of Jesus down to the ordinary plane of human experience. Perhaps one world-view is as good as another if we are careful not to obscure the real Jesus with our efforts to theologize about him. We are disposed to think it more important to seek in Jesus help for worthy living and enlightenment for our thought of God, than to try to frame an interpretation of him in the language of any predetermined metaphysical theory. Our problem is not to determine the kind of Jesus which is demanded by our ideas of God, but to attain the vision of God which our knowledge of Jesus makes possible.

From this standpoint his worth lies primarily in the content of his life, as history discloses his superior personal efficiency in the spiritual sphere. He has usually been, and one may venture to think he always will be, measured by the degree in which he aids men in their struggle for salvation; and since we may be unable now to make the external element central in our thought of salvation, some forms in which his worth was formerly phrased may have to be set aside; nevertheless the power of his personality and message continues to be a mighty inspiration prompting modern men to the worthiest spiritual attainments and encouraging them to realize in their own lives a genuine experience of God. In this respect he is now, as he always has been, the great Savior.

This spirit of his life has been felt continually and broadly wherever his memory has been preserved. The high standards of

righteousness maintained by Christians today, their emphasis upon brotherly love, the control of noble ideals in their lives, are a heritage from him. The theoretical question of whether these things would have been realized without him, however answered, does not alter the fact that thousands have found the inspiration which comes from him their mainstay in the struggles of life. Many today are repeating the experiences of the past in this respect, and even the twentieth century with all its inventive skill can scarcely hope to furnish a better agency for the propagation of righteousness and personal piety. True, Jesus was not the first to admire virtue nor the first to preach righteousness. Before his day the marble statue of goodness had been unveiled and its graceful proportions admired; but he succeeded as other artists had not in putting a throbbing heart within that marble breast, thus infusing it with the warmth of real life. He gave a personal demonstration of the possibilities of noble attainment by showing that trustful fellowship with the Father enabled one to live the life of personal purity, to maintain the optimistic spirit, to cherish the attitude of brotherly kindness and social service.

If one could peer into the secret of believers' lives from age to age perhaps he would find that much of the credit interpreters have taken to themselves for presenting Jesus effectively to men has been quite secondary in comparison with the winning power of his life. It has recently been said, speaking about the first believers, "Jesus lived on not only in the dogma but also in the ethics of his community, and their quiet walk in imitation of him had perhaps even more attracting power than the preaching about the crucified and risen one." Something of the same might be truly said of any age in the history of the faith. The power of Christianity is in its life, the lives of believers lived in likeness to and under the inspiration of the life of Jesus.

Thus understood, modern belief must center about Jesus' career as a religious personality. The divine interpreted in terms of life comes to vivid expression in his vital consciousness of unhindered fellowship with God and in his devotion to the welfare of humanity. This will mean to many persons in modern times a more significant appreciation of his worth for religious thought

than would be possible on the basis of any amount of miracle or metaphysical dualism which the oriental imagination or the ancient Greek philosophy was capable of inventing. He is no longer merely the embodiment of a metaphysical idea, a statue set on the pedestal of Jewish history and serving chiefly as an object for the obeisance of humanity; he represents deity not statically but dynamically, and so is to every age a call of God to living men. His life and his words summon all men to a service in which their supreme aim will be to learn and to do the will of God in serving their own day and generation.

We can imagine someone exclaiming, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." As the women at the tomb were vainly yet anxiously seeking the living among the dead, so it frequently happens that seekers after truth experience a shock when they find their former ideas transformed into new shapes at first hardly recognizable. But if the new conserve the values of the old, the transformation may ultimately prove a blessing notwithstanding the inconvenience of a temporary disturbance of thought. The first disciples passed through dark hours of agonizing experience before their new faith in the living Lord emerged, but it proved to be a new power in their lives enabling them to retain the estimate of Jesus which their personal contact with him had inspired. Indeed, when the limitations imposed by the earthly relationship were removed the disciples were able to paint their picture of his worth with far bolder strokes than had formerly been possible. The changes in christological dogma which have come about from time to time in the history of doctrine sometimes cost believers pain, yet changes were necessary if Christian thought of Jesus was to maintain its place of supremacy.

New types of interpretation seem to have proved adequate just in so far as they preserved the vital content of the older views and at the same time answered the thought-demands of their own day. Today we recognize that the older metaphysics, in terms of which Jesus has usually been interpreted, is unsatisfactory to many persons. To meet this situation we strive to go behind all former christological theories to the historical Jesus and, with our knowledge of his life as a basis, to estimate his significance in the light



of spiritual rather than external relations. It will doubtless be conceded that this method is in harmony with certain phases of modern thought, but still it may be asked, Does it conserve those elements which made the older Christology valuable and effective?

At the basis of all past interpretation of Jesus lie two ideas to which chief worth has been attached: in him we find the ideal for human life, and we also have in him the concrete embodiment of our highest thought of God. These values have been formally expressed in the doctrine of his perfect humanity on the one hand and his absolute deity on the other. All christological speculation has described its orbit about these two foci.

No one is likely to doubt that the first of these underlying values is preserved by the modern method. Surely nothing could bring out more emphatically Jesus' worth as an ideal for our life than the effort to fix attention upon his earthly career. In fact, modern needs are not satisfied with a merely objective contemplation of his career, or a parrot-like imitation of his action; the present calls for men who have not only seen Jesus standing in a niche of the past but who see him beckoning them on to the realization of the noblest attainments in the modern world of action. For them Jesus is more than a pattern to be copied, he is a demonstration of spiritual power to be felt today by those who have received the unction of his spirit.

Can it be said that we have also conserved the second of these main values? As already indicated, the doctrinal form by which it has usually been expressed presupposes a metaphysical theory now become for many modern minds obsolete and unworkable. According to its representation, God impinged upon the universe from without, he projected himself into human history, he expressed his love for men by a semi-legal transaction making salvation possible; in short, the more external features of Jesus' career are coupled with current notions about the Deity to form a concrete setting for these notions. Thus the thought of God in his relation to the world—and this at all times is probably the most vital item of such thought—seemed more real when it could be supposed to have its personification in Jesus. Without question, this phase of Jesus' value for the religious experience of that age had to be

estimated in this currency if estimated at all; and just in so far as we today find greatest satisfaction in thinking of God in terms of externalism, shall we still need to picture Jesus in this way if he is to have worth for our thought of God.

But the converse is also true. One who feels that his most vital experience of the unseen can be adequately pictured only in terms of the spiritual will find most help for his thought of God from meditation upon the spiritual content of Jesus' life. In Jesus' loyal service for humanity one finds the incarnation of divine love; in his religious life the reality and power of spiritual communion with the unseen comes to vivid expression; both in his teaching and in his conduct the divine will for us stands out clearly; in brief, Jesus so clarifies and deepens our consciousness of spiritual realities when we come into close touch with his life that he becomes for us our most valuable aid to a better vision of God. Above all, he helps us to realize the meaning of genuine fellowship with the unseen—the most valuable relationship in terms of which our knowledge of God can be estimated. Thus we find in the life of the earthly Jesus the ideal for life today and the embodiment of those ideas which constitute our highest thought of God.

## CAN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL WRITINGS BE MAINTAINED?<sup>1</sup>

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Such a question as this has a formidable aspect to many devout souls today. It seems to be striking at the very center of our faith in God's revelation; and a negative answer is dreaded because it would be generally interpreted to mean that we must abandon all belief in the unique value and authority of Christianity. It is well, therefore, at the outset to emphasize the fact that the question is proposed not in any spirit of wanton destructiveness, but simply because developments in theological scholarship during the past century or more have made it imperative to face the issue. One has only to read the popular treatises to discover that serious modifications have been made by conservative thinkers in the conception of the nature of the Bible. There is in most of these discussions a commendable reluctance to lower in any way the valuation of those Scriptures which for centuries have fed the life of the church. Nevertheless, concessions are freely made today which would have appalled our fathers. It seems proper, therefore, to take account of stock, and to determine just what we can truthfully say concerning the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings.

It may be of value to remind ourselves that this is only one aspect of a larger question. Any religion in the course of its development establishes certain writings or rituals or localities in which the presence of God is believed to be more directly accessible than elsewhere. It frequently happens that criticism arising from either religious or scientific considerations compels a modification of theory in regard to the exact nature of these special objects of religious reverence. Disturbing as the necessity for

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the twenty-eighth annual session of the Baptist Congress held at Augusta, Ga., Nov. 8-10, 1910, slightly modified.

readjustment may appear at first, that view of the matter which eventually proves itself least vulnerable to the weapons of a legitimate criticism is also the most serviceable for religious faith. As examples of questions which are similar in import to the one which forms the subject of this paper, we may mention the doctrines of the infallible church, of the sacramental efficacy of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the theory of priestly ordination. Can the distinction be maintained between the church and other human organizations? There are multitudes of Protestants who feel that in a more human and democratic view of the organization of the followers of Christ there is a religious as well as a logical gain. Is there no difference between the bread and wine which the priest has blessed and the ordinary bread and wine used for secular purposes? There are those who feel that in abolishing the distinction involved in the doctrine of transubstantiation, a genuine advance is made in the understanding and the practice of true religion. Is there no essential difference between the ordained minister and the layman? Has the layman just as good a right to utter decisions in ecclesiastical matters as has the man upon whose head have been placed the ordaining hands of the clergy? Again, there are many who feel that the abolition of the distinction is of real advantage to the cause of religion.

It is worth while to remind ourselves of these other instances of the fundamental question, in order to reassure ourselves. It is quite possible that a failure to maintain the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings might eventuate in the establishment of a religious faith which later generations would regard as more valuable than the one which their forefathers were so reluctant to modify or abandon. When church and sacraments and clergy cease to be valued because of their essential "divine rights," it is not a serious step to the more democratic view of the Bible. At any rate, a doctrine which is based on the facts is better than a doctrine which is obliged to explain away troublesome facts. Our attempt, then, will be reverently to ask the question whether, in view of the data at our disposal, we can maintain the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings.

But just what is *the* distinction? Any thing can be distinguished somehow from other things. If not, they would be identical. Since the writings contained in the Bible are not identical with those outside the Canon, it follows that some sort of a distinction can be made. But just what is it that we can say of the biblical writings which we cannot say of others? It will perhaps clear the ground if we take up the significant theories of theologians on this point and inquire whether, in the light of the facts, these theories can stand.

It is not necessary in this discussion to review the history of the formation of the Canon of Scripture. Every one knows that while the majority of our present biblical books came to be universally accepted as divinely inspired, there were some whose character did not compel unanimous approval. A few of these doubtful books, such as Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, II Peter, Jude, and II and III John, have come into the standard Canon of Scripture. Others, such as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Clementine epistles have been excluded from our Protestant Canon. The interesting point to be observed in the history of the discussions concerning the doubtful books is the fact that while the *idea* of a collection of divinely inspired Scriptures was indubitably held, it was impossible to say with certainty just where the line should be drawn between inspired and uninspired writings. As a matter of fact, the exact determination of the Canon of Scripture was never a burning issue until after the Reformation. The early church was conscious of possessing in the apostles and prophets a source of authority which we today do not find in any living men. The traditions of Christ's life and work were communicated orally as well as in writing. Thus there was no exclusive dependence upon a definite collection of writings. When, during the second century, Christianity became Catholic in spirit, the guidance of the church constituted the foundation of faith. It was only when Luther denied the authority of the church and appealed to the Word of God alone that there was felt to be any pressing need for defining the exact list of authoritative books. In answer to this demand of the Lutheran Reformation, we have the test established by Catholicism in the

decrees of the Council of Trent, and the doctrine of the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit established by Luther and Calvin.

The Catholic theory can be dismissed here with a word. It declares that the voice of the church decides which writings were given by inspiration. The church has been the faithful custodian of the doctrines of Christ and the apostles, and thus can tell us just what books were divinely approved.<sup>2</sup> Catholicism thus has a perfectly definite distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings. One class has received from the church the needed label; the other has not. This decision is final; for human judgments cannot be allowed to modify the divine pronouncements of the church. If one agrees to the major premise of the capacity of the church thus to decide questions, this distinction will doubtless seem satisfactory. But for one who denies that major premise, it seems like an arbitrary way of settling so important a matter.

Luther proposed a practical test. He was primarily interested in the promotion of a vigorous life of justifying faith; his main concern was to discover the sources of such faith. He did not clearly distinguish between the idea of an original inspiration on the part of the writer of a scriptural book and its present power to inspire faith in God. The distinction which he actually had in mind was between those writings which have the power to bring to men the assurance of forgiveness through Christ and those which have no such power. In the application of this test, he uttered his famous dictum concerning the "strawy" character of the Epistle of James. His fundamental interest was the practical one of testing the legitimacy of a writing to be called Word of God by asking whether it actually did utter the forgiving message of God to the soul. But he never applied this test minutely or critically. Indeed, he was convinced that the Scriptures, as a whole, actually speak to men with divine compelling power.

Calvin elaborated this same practical test into his famous doctrine of the inner testimony of the Spirit.

As God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. . . . Therefore, being divinely illu-

<sup>2</sup> *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session 4.

mined by the Spirit, we believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or that of other men, but we esteem the certainty that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it.<sup>3</sup>

But here again, Calvin was more concerned to show that the Bible has actual power to convince men without need of appealing to the authority of the church than he was to apply the test which he proposed to both canonical and non-canonical literature. Indeed, the reformation test as thus formulated by Luther and Calvin has never been actually used as a critical principle by theologians.

Indeed, it immediately becomes evident that the application of this test proposed by Calvin would eliminate the existing distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings more completely than would the most radical conclusions of biblical criticism. Does the Book of Leviticus speak to modern Christians with real authority? Does any one try to put it into practice? For the promotion of your sense of genuine communion with God would you prefer the Book of Esther to *Pilgrim's Progress*? If you exclude allegorical interpretation and face the actual message of the Song of Songs, does it surpass Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* in power to assure you of the reality of God's presence? If we attempt to say that in all parts of the Bible we have the Word of God in a unique sense, we are led into hopeless sophistry in order to maintain our position. Let me quote a sentence from a noted defender of biblical authority as an example of this "confusion worse confounded." Says this theologian in discussing the imprecatory Psalms: "While the record of what is said is correct and exact, that which is recorded as being said may not in itself be right; but it is God's word that man said it, though what man was recorded as saying may not be God's Word."<sup>4</sup> This seems to mean that in some portions of the Bible we have a real revelation from God to the souls of men; while in other parts we have true accounts, indeed, but they may be accounts of evil.

<sup>3</sup> *Institutes*, Book I, chap. vii.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Torrey, *Difficulties and Alleged Errors and Contradictions in the Bible*, p. 72.

The fundamental difference which remains, then, between the Bible and other literature is the assertion that in the Bible we always have historically accurate statements, while in other literature we cannot be sure. So far as the practical use of the Bible is concerned, however, we have to distinguish between religious truth and religious error in the Bible no less than in other literature. Just what advantage, then, comes from alleged historical accuracy in such a case it is hard to see.

In short, the essentially *religious* distinction proposed by the Reformers fails to establish any clear dividing line between the biblical writings and those of alleged secular origin. In the Bible, as in other literature, the devout reader finds many utterances, indeed, which appeal to him with such power that he is lifted into communion with God. He also finds statements which perplex him, or which even arouse his protest. The imprecatory Psalms could hardly find their way into a modern hymnbook. On the other hand, one feels no sense of incongruity between the Pauline Epistles and the Confessions of Augustine. The facts simply do not warrant that distinction which Calvin tried to establish on the basis of the inner testimony of the Spirit.

What about other tests which have been suggested? Can we, for example, say that the Bible is infallible, while other books are fallible? Nothing is more noticeable than the gradual disappearance of that word "infallible" from present-day theologies. It is freely admitted by practically everyone today that the writers of the Bible shared the imperfect scientific and historical ideas of their age. The attempt is sometimes made to distinguish between the secular and the theological aspects of biblical teaching, and to maintain the infallibility of the latter even when recognizing the limitations of the former. But critical study is making impossible even this distinction. To mention but one example: the theology of most of the New Testament writers is unquestionably millenarian. Is this theology infallible? The conviction is steadily growing among biblical scholars that the eschatological beliefs of the first century belong to the transient aspects of Christian history. We must, then, recognize limitations in the theological thinking of the biblical writers. But this means that we have



abolished the last distinction implied in the word "infallible." If we may judge from present tendencies, the word itself will soon be obsolete in theology.

As to the other external marks by which the unique authority of Scripture has been established, these too are faring ill in the march of scholarship. As we come to know the literary history of the books of the Bible, it becomes more and more apparent that the traditional beliefs do not rest upon the facts. Indeed, comparatively few of the books of the Bible make any claim to have been composed either by special inspiration or by any method other than that in common use at the time. The historical books of the Old Testament are frankly compiled from older sources, and the differing points of view of these sources are preserved for us side by side with all their inconsistencies. It is safe to say that if we did not begin with the notion of a special inspiration of the biblical authors, we should never dream of attributing to the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, for example, any unusual equipment for their task beyond that possessed by any devout believer in the religious value of the history of his people. On inductive grounds why should we deny special inspiration to the Shepherd of Hermas and affirm it in the case of the Book of Acts or the Epistle of James?

In short, those distinctions which theologians have asserted to exist between the Bible and other books simply do not exist. We cannot call the Bible infallible, and all other books fallible. We cannot hold that the Bible is composed exclusively of books written by authorized prophets and apostles; for evidence for this is totally lacking in many instances. Some of the books of both the Old and the New Testament are of unknown origin. On the other hand, if the lost epistles of Paul were to be found, would they now be put into the Canon? Certainly not. But if they were known to be authentic, it is safe to say that every biblical scholar in Christendom would use them exactly as he uses the canonical epistles. As a matter of fact, except for the somewhat arbitrary decisions of ecclesiastical councils, the Christian church has never been able to draw a definite line between canonical and non-canonical writings. The not inconsiderable number of "doubt-

ful" books on the border line is witness to this fact. Nowhere is the state of the case more guilelessly put than by Canon Sanday in his article on the Bible in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Says he:

If we were to try to sum up in a single word the common property which runs through the whole Bible, and which, broadly speaking, may be said to distinguish it from other literature of the kind, we might say that it consists in the peculiar energy and intensity of the *God-consciousness* apparent in the writers. A general term like this will perhaps best embrace the different modes and degrees in which this consciousness manifests itself. It is true that in some of the books there is such a shading away of degree that it may be questioned whether those particular books are rightly included in the Canon, just as there are so many analogous phenomena in some books outside the Canon as to raise a doubt whether they are rightly excluded from it. It cannot be claimed that the judgment of the Jewish and Christian churches is infallible. All that we can say is that it is sufficiently near for practical purposes.

Dr. Sanday is trying to preserve the old distinction, but is compelled by the facts to acknowledge that it cannot be done in any absolute fashion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Canon of Scripture is adequate even for practical purposes. Nothing is more conspicuous in our modern methods of studying the Bible than to "get the historical background" for the understanding of a biblical message. Do we realize to what a large extent we are dependent on non-canonical sources for our acquaintance with this historical background? What a revolution in our knowledge of the religion of Israel has come from the frank and free use of non-canonical sources to supplement and to correct the representation given in the Old Testament! Every fragment of writing which has been preserved in the period between the Maccabaeon uprising and the days of Jesus is eagerly treasured and positively employed to help us understand the consciousness and the teaching of Jesus. One need only glance over our Sunday-school quarterlies to see to what an extent the non-canonical material is employed to help in expounding the Scriptures. It is simply impossible for us to understand the Bible itself rightly unless we study with equal care non-biblical sources.

What distinction, then, can we make between the Bible and other literature?

Simply this: As the Jewish community came to feel the necessity of preserving for its own edification and for the religious education of succeeding generations the historical sources of its national faith, it selected those books which have passed into the Canon of the Old Testament. In the second century the Christian community, obeying a similar impulse, selected from the religious books which were known to represent the true spirit of Christianity those which constitute the Canon of the New Testament. These two collections have been used by the Christian church for centuries as the fundamental basis of education and of personal faith. They have thus become so inwrought into the sentiments and the practice of our religious life as to have a permanent place in our esteem. So far as I can judge, there is no desire on the part of this age, nor is there likely to be any desire in the future, that the word "Bible" should stand for anything except just this collection of religious writings which has come to stand by itself. As a historical fact, conditioning centuries of Christian thinking, and to a greater or less degree affecting our own attitude toward religion, the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings simply exists.

Moreover, apart from the few "doubtful" writings, there is no question that these collections represent the very best extant records of the religion of the Bible. To distinguish such classical expressions of religious faith from those of less originality is a proceeding not without its value. In every realm of human learning, such a selection of the best must be made, either by natural growth or by artificial means, for the benefit of those who have neither the time nor the ability to master all of the material for themselves. The Bible will always stand as an example of the survival of the fittest in the realm of religion.

But paradoxical as it sounds, the reason why our modern age is willing to leave unrevised the traditional distinction between the Bible and other literature is simply because we have ceased to make any crucial use of the distinction. The truth is that our interest has shifted from the documents of the Bible to the life

which produced those documents and which they in turn produce. The facts with which we are really concerned are the religious achievements of the people of Israel, the life and teachings of Jesus, and the triumphant faith of his disciples. We want to come close to that wonderful development of religious faith which gave to the western world its beliefs and institutions. We really do not care whether the information about that religion comes from the Bible itself or from other sources. Anything which serves to make us better acquainted with the prophets of Israel and their message, anything which makes Jesus more real to us, anything which enables us better to enter into the aspirations and convictions of the apostolic age we eagerly welcome. We have entirely ceased to make any practical use of the distinction between canonical and non-canonical books. But this change of sentiment has come because we are intensely interested to know more about the religion which produced the Bible, so that we may more intelligently interpret it in the service of present life.

The religious faith which has been built into our occidental civilization and which is a matter of vital concern to us all, owes its origin to two great creative epochs—to the work of the great prophets of Israel and to the life and teaching of Jesus and of his early disciples. This is not to disparage the tremendous significance of such men as Augustine and Luther. But these men were conscious of trying to purify and restore a religion which had its inspiration in the past. The prophets of Israel and Jesus made religion to consist in an immediate experience of the living God. There was an originality, a creative daring, a universality in what they did which compels men since them to become their disciples. There is nothing, so far as we know, in the entire history of religion so significant as this religion of the Bible. It is this which we treasure above all. Without it our spiritual life would be poor indeed.

Now the religious literature preserved in the Bible contains the most important extant material for a knowledge of this great transforming spiritual achievement of humanity. As a matter of fact, if we were to lose the books of the Bible, there is nothing in all the world to replace them. They will always be our primary

sources for an understanding of the great creative origins of that faith which we believe is destined to conquer the world. But this very sense of the supreme importance of the biblical faith has led us to a keen sense of the fragmentary nature of the information preserved in these books. What gaps there are in the history! How much more we should like to know about the religion of the Jews after the passing of the great prophets! If we could obtain a full account of the childhood and the private life of Jesus, would it not be of inestimable value to us? The disregard of the older distinction between canonical and non-canonical books has come partially, indeed, from a recognition of the falsity of theories which have been held concerning the nature of the Bible. But it too often escapes attention that the barriers have been thrown down because of a deeper desire to know the real power of the biblical faith. It is for this reason that we are dissatisfied to limit ourselves to what the Bible tells us if there are other sources which may amplify our knowledge. It is because we recognize that the utterances of the Bible constitute only a *portion*—admittedly the most important which we possess, but still only a portion—of the manifestation of the power of God in the life of men, that we are eager to cherish every other utterance which helps us to understand the nature of that magnificent faith. The freer attitude of the modern theologian toward the Bible is thus not for the destruction, but for the fulfilment of the religion of the Bible.

## A STUDY OF JOHN 1:29-34

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29. On the morrow he seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world! 30. This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man who is become before me: for he was before me. 31. And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I baptizing in water. 32. And John bare witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon him. 33. And I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize in water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon him, the same is he that baptizeth in the Holy Spirit. 34. And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God.

John, like all the other gospels, begins by introducing the Baptist. In this gospel, however, the Baptist is not the great human leader, but the witness, sent from on high, who realizes from the beginning his subordinate place. In 1:29-34 we have his positive testimony to Jesus, following directly upon his negative testimony (vss. 19-29) in regard to himself. Let us look first at the verses in detail, then at the paragraph as a whole.

Vs. 29, "Behold, the Lamb of God:" The word "behold" or "see" makes the picture more vivid. The frequent references in this gospel to seeing, looking, or beholding mark it as being, in distinction from the Synoptics, the visual gospel. Observe in this passage the words, "made manifest," in vs. 31, and "I have beheld," in vs. 32. The phrase, "The Lamb of God," is an echo of Isa. 53:7 (cf. Acts 8:32). The Passover also is in mind, and the expression reflects, still further, the conception already popular with John's public, of the humble and lowly character of Jesus. Just what conception of the sacrificial nature of Christ's death was in the mind of the Baptist or of the evangelist or of early Christians in general is a question needing detached and detailed investigation. The article by Professor George F. Moore on "Sacrifice" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* is an important contribution to this

study. But it is to be borne in mind that the early Christians were not immediately concerned with the abstract Anselmic problem, "How can a righteous God forgive sins without detriment to his justice or his moral government?" They had a much more pressing and vital situation to meet. They must understand and account for the shameful death of Jesus, the Messiah. That was their problem. The solution they found, as expressed by John, was, in common with the general character of this gospel, pictorial. It is not enough to say that scarcely ever in the Old Testament sacrificial codes is a lamb mentioned in direct connection with sins; for even if the references were more frequent and even if the theological connection were really there, such passages would still afford no vivid picture. In the suffering Servant of Isa. 53, on the other hand, John not only found the "lamb" and the "sin" in every verse, but found them blended into one surpassing picture, which his picture-gospel could not fail to paint anew. And this ancient picture solved the then present problem. Therefore John exhibited it anew, and the picture spoke to his readers; and by being connected with Jesus said of him: "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. . . . He was oppressed, yet when he was afflicted he opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth." We must here think, further, not only of Jesus' death, but of all which Jesus himself said about sheep in his public teaching. As his disciples, for example, were to be like sheep among wolves, so Jesus was pre-eminent in embodying the grandeur of guilelessness and natural simplicity.

"Taketh away the sin of the world" is to be understood in the light of I John 3:5, 6, which tells us that in Christ we no longer sin, for we enter into fellowship with Christ who is free from sin, and abide in that fellowship. The conception of "bearing" our sins is also included in the etymological meaning of *ἀἵρων*, "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned everyone to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."



IN THE WILDERNESS OF JUDEA



Vs. 30, "For he was before me," probably refers to the pre-existence of Jesus. In these and the following verses the most important point to be noticed historically is the fact that we have here traces of a polemic against the sect of John the Baptist (cf. Acts 18:25) which we know existed in considerable force even into the second century. Our evangelist has noted with even more clearness than the synoptists the Baptist's own testimony: He (Jesus) is utterly and entirely before me (vs. 30). My work is subordinate and secondary to his (vs. 31). My divine mission declared I should be secondary (vs. 33). My place is merely to bear witness (vss. 32, 34). Compare especially the preceding paragraph (vss. 19-29) in which the Baptist answers again and again "I am not" the coming One.

Vs. 32, "As a dove." In the synoptic gospels it is Jesus who sees the dove. Here the dove is seen by John. It makes the picture more real to have John's objective testimony that he also saw it. Much that is in the nature of a quickly taken photograph in the synoptic Gospels, becomes in John a finished painting.

Vs. 33, "Baptize in [or, with] water." The repeated reference to water baptism (vss. 26, 31) has a polemic connection. The baptism with the Holy Spirit is to be understood in the light of Paul's thought of the Holy Spirit. "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk." John also thinks, as he writes these words of the Baptist, of that Pentecostal scene when the disciples "were all filled with the Holy Spirit."

Vs. 34, "Son of God." To understand the meaning of this term for the first readers of our gospel we again look to Paul and his conception of the sonship of believers to God. Christ was the Son who brought that sonship into the world and made it possible for men to become sons of God. Historically its use in connection with the Messiah took its rise from such ideas as are expressed in II Sam. 7:13, 14, "He shall build a house for my name and I will establish the throne of his kingdom. I will be his father, and he shall be my Son." It is impossible in this brief article even to suggest the wide use of the term "Son of God" in Jewish and early Christian literature (see Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. "Son of God"). Though not in the Old Testament distinctively a title

for the Messiah, the use of it in Pss. 2 and 89 might easily become the occasion of its application to the Messiah. When Jesus spoke of himself as the Son this would readily, though not necessarily, be understood as implying his messiahship. It is not the equivalent of "Messiah," but denotes a moral and spiritual relationship by which Jesus is the direct representative of God in the world. "The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father doing, for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner" (John 5:19).

Looking at this paragraph as a whole it is important to bear in mind the general character of the gospel. What we call the gospel of John is not a Fourth gospel in the same sense in which the previous three are gospels. It is not "another of the same." They are biographies. It is a picture or series of pictures. To harmonize them with it or it with them topographically and chronologically is beside the mark. One may harmonize the first three among themselves if he thinks it worth while. But who can so cut up a *picture* as to interline the pieces with the story they glorify?

Nor can a picture be appreciated with one's face at the canvas. It is not enough to say that DuBœuf's "Prodigal Son" was not another version of the parable, or that the "Sixtine Madonna" is not another account of the divine motherhood; but we must also add that, as is actually done with such paintings, it must be placed in a room by itself with the spectator seated at a proper distance from the portrayal. For the Fourth Gospel does not "trace accurately" the course of all things in Jesus' life in order that any Theophilus may possess an account of them characterized by itemized certainty. But it was written—one might almost say painted—that the man who believed—one might almost say saw—should have life.

Not that the Fourth Gospel is to be gazed at with a blank and dreamy mind. It is to be examined as a masterpiece in painting is examined, not with the yardstick or with instruments of precision, but with the artist's long brooding over every line and stroke of beauty, grace, and power, and with that occasional standing-back which allows the strokes to dissolve and blend into

a living whole which seems to forget its own home on the canvas and approach and enter and possess the contemplating soul.

I have said all this in order to indicate the peculiar and proper organ with which to read the present verses. That organ is the spiritual eye. Many a devout soul has read it so and filled his soul with its wealth of meaning; while at the same time, if questioned about his vision, would answer in the dialect of history or



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biography. Yet "he baptized him" is not here. There is no direct assertion of the baptism of Jesus in these verses. To say this may be startling, so powerfully does a true picture seem to assert the facts out of which its creation has arisen. But it is true. It was a great artist who painted one bird singing and tilting on a single bough of a tree in such an attitude that everyone knew that its mate and its nest were back there inside the foliage, and with such effect that a child came away saying he had seen a painting of a bird with its nest in a tree, though only the solitary warbler was really painted. There is here no picture of Jesus

in the water, and yet we are sure we have seen the baptism itself. It is common enough and true enough to say that the Fourth Gospel assumes the Synoptic Gospels, but we need to go further and to say that the Fourth Gospel reminds us that we have read the synoptists or, to put it still more strongly, makes us feel their facts behind its pictures and feel them so strongly that again and again we think that it actually states them even where it really does not.

Nor must we be beguiled into leaving our attitude of beholding a picture and betaking ourselves to floating down a stream of logic or philosophy. This caution is made needful by certain expressions in our passage. The phrase "Lamb of God" is apt to recall expiatory and vicarious theories, the phrase "Son of God," philosophic conceptions of the Trinity, or of some eternal procession from the Father. However true and helpful such procedures of systematic thinking may be, we must in reading the Fourth Gospel vigorously and rigorously and resolutely preserve the attitude of beholding. John's picture does indeed maintain the closest intimacy with Paul's logic. But it is unhistorical to translate the picture into the logic. We have been too fond of saying that there are two things in the New Testament—the evangelistic biographies and the Pauline doctrines. It would be wiser and truer, even to the chronology of the writings themselves, to say that there are not two things but three: first, the synoptic reports of the daily life of the Son of Man; secondly, the apostolic doctrines of the spiritual Christ no longer known after the flesh; and thirdly, the return to the concrete again in the Fourth Gospel. This last concrete renewal *pictures* the spiritual or Pauline Christ living out during his ministry the spiritual side of his life; and the vital question is not how accurate the precise human details of the picture may be but whether we see the spiritual portrayal which the details are used to paint.

The fact that the Fourth Gospel brings us into close communion with the inmost heart of Christ is its glory, as its stained pages in the believer's Bible clearly show. It is the popular gospel because it gives in the form of pictures, not outward doings so much as the deepest soul of Jesus. The ordinary visitor does not see the full

depth of meaning in the Sixtine Madonna. But he sees its main outstanding thought because it is a picture. The depth of it may come later or may not, but meanwhile the man has seen much. And if anyone should insist that the synoptists also paint us pictures of Christ, the reply is ready: There are painters and painters. One copies faithfully the external features and details of his subject. Another

poring on a face  
Divinely through all hindrance finds the man  
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,  
The shape and color of a mind and life  
Lives for his children, ever at its best  
And fullest.

Thus John's pictures are the highest and truest appreciation of Christ. To see them we must not be in the uncertain mood of one who feels persuaded of the truth of certain propositions on vicarious sacrifice nor even of one who believes in the divinity of Christ or even of one who has an honest personal faith in him. These processes are important, but in religion the great and final thing a human soul must do is to see. The man who reads our passage best is

One in whom persuasion and belief  
Have ripened into faith, and faith become  
A passionate intuition.

Such a state of passionate intuition John had reached. And as if with the very cry of the Baptist he himself cries in this passage not "This is the true Petrine or Pauline doctrine of a divine lamb without spot or blemish offered once for all for the sin of mankind," but "*Behold*, the lamb of God"; and again, not "This man has been proven and declared to be the eternal Son," but "See, as I have seen, and bear witness that this is the Son of God."

If then we try to paint the picture John saw we have no easy task before us. It will not do to portray the gaunt and sinewy forerunner pointing out Jesus and seeming to say, "*Behold*, the lamb of God" and to add in, as best we may, the details set forth in the remaining verses. That would be like a true Romanist painting the mother of Christ as she appeared in actual life rather

than as the Sixtine Madonna. But rather as in Madonna pictures cherub forms and faces seem to make the very atmosphere, so the associations of these verses must somehow be suggested, for the picture after all is a spiritual one and can be painted only upon the shifting canvas of the soul. It is really Jesus who is in the foreground. And coming into atmospheric form about him are images



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from the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah—outlines of a lamb led to the slaughter woven in with dim figures of transgressing multitudes (vs. 29). Behind this central foreground figure which “is become before” the forerunner is the lesser figure of the Baptist himself touched with a suggestion of spiritual passing and fading out such as artists sometimes actually impart to figures whose vanishing they wish to indicate (vs. 30). Off at the right of the

canvas is a shadowy Jordan and a shadowy John baptizing repentant throngs; and even as he baptizes a far-off look is in his eyes, and his raised hand points at the great Christ and his own diminishing self in the foreground, even as old artists with spiritual perception would paint upon the same canvas a picture of Christ upon the cross, and then in a dim background a multitude with palms and hosannas around another figure of the Christ which points with profound suggestion to the figure on the cross (vs. 31). But upon the particular individual whom the shadowy John is baptizing at this pictured moment is resting, with wings barely folded, a dove-like form. One must not go closer to examine it for fear it might lose its outlines in the threads and pigments of the canvas; and yet about it, dimmer still, are faint forms of winged things brooding over a tossing primeval chaos or hovering over the receding waters that reveal a newly-emerging and purified earth (vs. 32). The space on the left of the picture is given over to the yet unfeatured future. One can see, nevertheless, clear suggestions of the morning light shining upon the many-colored garments of a newly-gathered crowd in the streets of Jerusalem. There are many nationalities among them, yet all seem to be hearing the same universal story from a few men upon whose glowing brows seem to linger tongues of linguistic fire, as if to symbolize the spirit with which they have been baptized for their great utterance (vs. 33). And underneath the whole picture in the words of the Baptist, expressing the thought of the evangelist, is the legend, "This is the Son of God."

## THE POLYTHEISM OF GEN., CHAP. I

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Describing the character of the record of the Creation contained in the first chapter of Genesis, Professor Bennett tells us that it is "the last of many editions of an ancient Semitic story, its priestly writer having purged it of its polytheistic superstition and made it a noble and simple declaration of the making of all things by God, who is one, holy, and benevolent."<sup>1</sup> In like manner Professor Zimmern refers to "the strictly monotheistic tone . . . that pervades the whole chapter";<sup>2</sup> while Professor Sayce alludes to its "devout" and "uncompromising monotheism."<sup>3</sup> Finally Hommel, referring especially to the first eleven chapters of Genesis, asserts that "the Bible exhibits nothing but the purest monotheism."<sup>4</sup>

That in contrast to "the exuberant and grotesque polytheism" of the Babylonian cosmogony, the Book of Genesis may be said to open with "a sublime and dignified narrative"<sup>5</sup> is undoubtedly true, and from this standpoint we are prepared to accept Professor Bennett's view of Gen., chap. I; but whether we have here a narrative written from the position of an uncompromising monotheism, as all these writers contend, is a doubtful matter, and, as we are about to show, one which is made even more so by the further statements of these same writers.

Professor Sayce thinks that the "us" in Gen. I:26; 3:22; II:7, refers to a polytheistic document which lay before the Hebrew writer;<sup>6</sup> while in his earlier work he had referred to this "us" as constituting one of the traces of a persistent polytheism among the bulk of the people which were left upon "the language and

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis*, 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Babylonian and Hebrew Tradition*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Higher Criticism*, 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 308.

<sup>5</sup> Driver, 2, 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Expository Times*, VII, No. 7.



possibly the thoughts of the enlightened few.”<sup>7</sup> Professor Zimmern sees here a reference to the conception of other divine beings which was a relic of the early polytheistic foundation of the Hebrew story.<sup>8</sup> Professor Bennett thinks that the meaning of this “us” is definitely determined by Isa. 6:1, 2, where Yahweh is described as surrounded by his heavenly court.<sup>9</sup> Professor Davidson acknowledges that “the language is obscure,” although he gives the explanation of Professor Bennett as that “of most expositors.”<sup>10</sup> Professor Driver, however, rejects this on the ground that “it would make the angels take part in the creation of man, which . . . is not probable,”<sup>11</sup> and he therefore, with MacLean, sees here “a plural of majesty.”<sup>12</sup> But, as Professor Wade points out, this interpretation “will not explain Gen. 3:22,”<sup>13</sup> which indeed is practically conceded by Driver himself, who explains the phrase here “as one of us” as indicating that man “has become like one of the class of divine beings to which Jehovah also belongs.” Indeed, as he further admits, it is to this class of beings that the serpent refers in Gen. 3:5, where the phrase “as God” signifies, and should be so rendered, “as *gods*” (RVm), thus harmonizing with the phrase “sons of God” in Gen. 6:2, which should there also be rendered “sons of *gods*.” Professor Driver unreservedly admits that in Gen. 6:1-4 we have “an ancient Hebrew legend . . . a piece of ‘unassimilated mythology,’” adding, “as a rule the Hebrew narrators stripped off the mythological coloring of the pieces of folklore which they record, but in the present instance it is still discernible.”<sup>14</sup> Now if we have here a piece of *pure mythology*, similar to the classical myths which record the marriages between the gods and mortals,<sup>15</sup> in other words, a polytheistic narrative, we are fully justified in seeing in Gen. 1:26 an allusion to a polytheistic conception of deity. In fact, when compared with

<sup>7</sup> *Higher Criticism*, 84, 85.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Theology of the Old Testament*, 129.

<sup>9</sup> *Genesis*, 85.

<sup>11</sup> *Genesis*, 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. “God.”

<sup>13</sup> *The Book of Genesis*, 210.

<sup>14</sup> *Genesis*, 45, 50, 82, 83; cf. Charles, *Enoch*, 62 n; Davidson, *Job*, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Professor Bennett, *ibid.*, 133.

Gen. 3:5, 22, this is the only possible conclusion. So examined, with all the associated facts considered, Gen., chap. 1, is seen to be a narrative not of a devout monotheist, jealous for the recognition of the essential oneness of deity, but of a *henotheist* not yet fully evolved from the polytheistic thought underlying such a belief. Thus in the "us" of Gen., Chaps. 1-11, we have a definite reference to divine beings upon whom the title gods, or sons of gods, is unreservedly bestowed, a more correct term than that of "angels" given them in II Pet. 2:4, and Jude, vs. 6. Notwithstanding therefore the assertion of many scholars that Gen., chap. 1, was written at a very late period by a Hebrew scribe anxiously striving from the standpoint of a strict and devout monotheist to bestow a thorough and exhaustive treatment on all aspects of his subject,<sup>16</sup> the evidence we have even so far produced shows that such an opinion is absolutely without warrant. And here we are supported by the last scholar who has written on this subject. Professor Toffteen, referring to the phrase in Gen. 1:26, "Let us make man in our image," describes it as plainly polytheistic "implying a recognition of more than one God." "Gen., chap. 1," he adds, "uses Elohim in a polytheistic sense." Finally he concludes touching the date of the document "P," which includes the first and much of the rest of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, that it belongs to "a very early date, most probably to about the time of Samuel, Saul, and David."<sup>17</sup> Owing therefore to the polytheistic thought so plainly exhibited in Gen., chap. 1, this chapter *must* have been written before a pure monotheism was first taught in Israel, that is, before the eighth century at least, which brings us now to consider the polytheism of the Hebrew-Israelites and their fathers.

It has been claimed that the Hebrews never were polytheists.<sup>18</sup> In the issue of this journal for May, 1899, I undertook to show that this was a mistake. Recently, however, this claim has been repeated on the ground that the worship by Israel's fathers of the gods of Babylon and Egypt shows merely that they abandoned

<sup>16</sup> Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 7; Driver, *op. cit.*, xv; Ryle, *Early Chap. Gen.*, 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Historical Exodus*, 22, 23, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Watson, *Christianity and Idealism*.

themselves to the worship of the foreign gods in whose country they sojourned, and not that they themselves had possessed their *own* special deities. The tendency to a persistent idolatry among the Israelites is freely acknowledged, but this, it is claimed, "cannot be counted as among the relics of a once prevalent Israelitish polytheism."<sup>19</sup> Thus MacLean, relying upon Kautzsch, does not hesitate to say that there is "no trace of Hebrew polytheism."<sup>20</sup> To us, however, it seems that there is not only a very clear trace of an original and continuous Hebrew polytheism, but that the very plain evidence of this is lost sight of by those scholars who deny it because of their failure to take into consideration the origin and development of that part of the Hebrew people who only later became known as the nation of Israel. Jacob went down into Egypt with a family of seventy souls, which returned to Canaan four hundred years later as a nation with some six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, besides women, children, their own old people, and many followers, about two million persons.<sup>21</sup> As Jacob's descendants increased in Egypt they adopted the religion of the country, and the question has now to be asked, Was such an adoption contrary to their own idea of deity? But this necessitates the prior question, What was their religion when, as a family, a mere handful of people, they had gone down into Egypt? Hommel would have us see in Abraham a monotheist,<sup>22</sup> who, however, was nothing more than a henotheist, since the god of Melchizedek, to whom he willingly paid tithes, was a mere Canaanite deity.<sup>23</sup> Jacob also was a henotheist, as can be seen from the covenant made between himself and Laban, where the deities of Abraham and Nahor are two different gods.<sup>24</sup> This is further proved by Jacob demanding that his household should put away the images and amulets of the gods which they, as former members of Laban's household, had been accustomed to worship.

<sup>19</sup> Kautzsch, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Religion of Israel."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "God."

<sup>21</sup> Budde, *Religion of Israel*, 4; Macgregor, *Exodus*, I, 192; *Exod.* 12:37, 38.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, 304.

<sup>23</sup> Driver, *op. cit.*, 165; Toffteen, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>24</sup> Driver, *op. cit.*, 259; Bennett, *op. cit.*, 308; Gen. 31:53 RV.

These Jacob simply buried beneath the sacred terebinth at Shechem, thus showing his respect for them, although they formed no part of the worship of his own special deity (Gen. 35:2-4). But Jacob's action does not show that his household had put the conception of their *own gods* out of their hearts, for their later adoption of the gods of Egypt shows that they had remained inherently true polytheists. Nor must we neglect to note that the number of persons mentioned as comprising Jacob's family which went down to Egypt could not have included all that came out with him from Padan-Aram. When we recall Abraham's three hundred servants born in his house, and then think of the enormous number of cattle Jacob must have owned (Gen. 32:13-20), we can readily understand that he too must have had a great number of servants. All this is confirmed by the statement of Joseph to Pharaoh's butler and baker, that he had been stolen out of the land of the Hebrews. Such a description of Canaan at that time shows that it must have been full of these people, most of whom were descendants of Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's servants brought from Padan-Aram. These could never have been more than nominal worshipers of El Shaddai, the more or less personal deity of their respective masters (Gen. 6:3), so that it was only natural that they should have first included him among their own gods of Padan-Aram, and then have lost *both* in a later acceptance of the gods of their new Canaanite home. It was, as Joshua indicates, thus in Egypt with Jacob's own immediate descendants, and all owing to an inherent tendency to polytheism derived from their original fathers, who had themselves been polytheists (Josh. 24:2, 14, 15). Professor Kautzsch, however, would have us believe that the fathers of the Hebrew-Israelite-Egyptians whom Joshua was addressing had not "from the first . . . their own specifically Israelitish gods, but that they abandoned themselves to the worship of the foreign gods in whose country and sphere they sojourned." But the fathers of the Babylonian Hebrews, southern Arabians, were pronounced polytheists who, in conquering the Sumerian-Babylonians, adopted their polytheism because they themselves were polytheists. Their descendants, that is, so many of them as finally went down into Egypt and there became Hebrew-Israelite-Egyptians, followed

in their footsteps by adopting the gods of Egypt. Finally, when these stood on the borders of Canaan ready to commence its conquest, notwithstanding their newly-adopted faith in Yahweh, they were ready at once to recognize in the gods of the Canaanite nation real gods,<sup>25</sup> whom they at once confused with Yahweh, putting him on a level with them.<sup>26</sup> When Jacob went down into Egypt there was, as I have already intimated, *no* Israelite nation; it was yet to be born. From its fathers, the sons of Jacob, it had evidently inherited little knowledge of, or loyalty to El Shaddai, the personal god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Indeed, with the exception possibly of Joseph, the sons of Jacob may be viewed as just as much attached to the gods their mothers had brought with them from Padan-Aram as to their father's god, El Shaddai. Before they went down to Egypt we see Judah having commerce with a supposed *kedeshah*, or sacred prostitute of a heathen shrine (Gen. 35:21). If, then, the Canaanite-Israelite held his 'monotheism loosely, and was ready to worship at Canaanite shrines,<sup>27</sup> so also must the sons of Jacob have held the henotheism of their father loosely, and have been equally ready to worship at the shrines of the Egyptians. Thus it was that before long their descendants in Egypt, possessing already the strange gods of their fathers, grew up to recognize the gods of the Egyptians as equally their gods. With them there was no "adoption" of these latter gods. Being already more or less polytheists, the gods of the country in which they were born were naturally the gods whom they included as such among the traditional gods of their fathers. Thus it is that Professor Sayce explains the calf-worship of the Israelites, when Moses seemed to have deserted them, as "their *own* faith in the days before the Exodus."<sup>28</sup> Some modern scholars reject the once generally accepted opinion that the Israelites borrowed the calf-worship from the Egyptians, attributing it rather to "the primitive conception of the Semitic stock to which the Hebrews belonged, the bull being a symbol of deity throughout the Semitic

<sup>25</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Idolatry."

<sup>26</sup> Bennett, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 10, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Israel."

<sup>28</sup> *Early History of the Hebrews*, 201.

world.”<sup>29</sup> Others, however, still accept the old view.<sup>30</sup> We agree with the latter, since the Israelites, while from an original Semitic stock, had grown up in a country in which Egyptian and not Semitic ideas prevailed. Indeed, it is doubtful whether they knew anything at all about Semitic faith and ritual. Nor is there anything in the argument that the Israelites just freed from Egyptian bondage would not have adopted an Egyptian deity to worship. They had asked for *gods*, new gods like Yahweh, to whom they had only recently been introduced by Moses. In Aaron making them a *calf* they did not necessarily see in it an Egyptian god, but a deity whose mere image and style of worship they were familiar with, and that was all. As for the inference sought to be drawn from the words of Aaron that the Israelites thought they were worshiping Yahweh, this is doubtful. They wanted gods, and they had no particular choice, as the form of their request shows (Exod. 32:1-6). If Aaron chose to represent that the god he had made for them was Yahweh, they did not care so long as they could worship with their accustomed heathen rites. Thus in spirit and action they were still out-and-out idolatrous polytheists. This Yahweh himself is represented as indicating, and this was the cause of Moses demanding a reconsecration to Yahweh with the terrible slaughter of the apostates. It is now freely conceded that while through the judges and the monarchy Yahweh alone was Israel’s God, “it was generally held that the gods of other nations—Chemosh, Milcom, and so on—had a real existence and authority in their respective lands.”<sup>31</sup> But this, unfortunately, was not all. In the time of the Judges the Israelites frequently forsook Yahweh for the Baals, the gods of the people among whom they dwelt; Solomon reared altars for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, Milcom, and others in Jerusalem itself for his heathen wives, and here he himself bowed to them; while on the very edge of the exile men, women, and children took their customary part in the worship of the queen of heaven (Judg. 2:11; I Kings 11:1-7; Jer. 7:18).

<sup>29</sup> See Hastings’ *Dict. of the Bible*; *Standard Bible Dictionary*; Smith’s *Bible Dictionary*; McNeile, *Exodus*.

<sup>30</sup> *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*; Toffteen, *op. cit.*, 175.

<sup>31</sup> McNeile, *Exodus*, 110.

In our next and concluding paper of this series we shall refer again to this polytheism of the Hebrews. Here we feel that we have said enough to show that the polytheism exhibited in Gen. 1:26 was but the reflection of that believed in by the Hebrew people as a whole at the time it was written.

NOTE.—In my claim that the Hebrews had originally been and continued to remain polytheists, I am perfectly aware of the fact that there is no definite trace of any special gods existing among the Hebrew-Israelites that had belonged to their Babylonian and Aramaic forefathers as peculiarly their own original deities. In this sense, of course, it is true that “there is no trace of a *Hebrew* polytheism.” But this is an entirely different matter from the denial that there is any trace “of a once-prevailing Israelitish polytheism.” The Arabian forefathers of the Israelites, when they conquered Babylon, because they *were* polytheists, themselves adopted the polytheism of their new home. The Aramaic-Hebrews did the same thing, and so did the Egyptian-Hebrews, and finally the Canaanite-Hebrews. These facts show plainly that the Hebrews from the first had been polytheists whose original gods they at each migration exchanged for those of the country in which they took up their abode. All this seems to us to present a very clear trace of “a once prevailing and still continuing Israelitish polytheism.” A. E. W.

## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER<sup>1</sup>

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VI. The date of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus as distinguished from the Greek translation and Prologue may safely be placed in the first decades of the third century (190-180 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> In our study of the Prologue we have seen how the history of the Psalter is bound up with the history of the Canon. The Prologue said nothing directly about the Psalter. Yet, in its testimony to the existence of the group of Writings it witnessed indirectly to the existence of the Psalter which, it was assumed, belonged to the nucleus of the Writings. It now remains to justify that assumption. We have therefore first of all to inquire whether Ben Sira recognized a third division of the Hebrew Scriptures as clearly as his grandson did and then to ask if the Psalter belonged to this division.

### BEN SIRA AND THE CANON

1. It is generally maintained and with good reason that Ben Sira recognized only two divisions of the Scriptures—the Law and the Prophets.<sup>3</sup> The evidence for this proposition is found in the great hymn, The Praise of Famous Men, chaps. 44-50. In this eulogy Ben Sira characterizes in chronological order, beginning with Enoch, the various heroes who had made the history of his people illustrious.<sup>4</sup> With two exceptions (Job and Nehemiah)

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the issue of the *Biblical World* for December, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt has been revived of late to push back the date of Ecclesiasticus a hundred years, but I cannot think that the grounds for this are strong enough to require rebuttal here.

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have argued that because the grandson speaks of his grandfather as "having studied the Law, the Prophets, and the patristic books," therefore the grandfather must have been acquainted with the tripartite division. But we cannot argue from the terminology used by the grandson in referring to the Scripture to the way in which the grandfather would have referred to them.

<sup>4</sup> After giving the heroes of the Law he describes the Judges (collectively), Samuel, Nathan, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Jeroboam, Elijah, Elisha, Hezekiah and Isaiah,



the men whom he commemorates are all heroes of the Law and the Prophets.<sup>5</sup> After Nehemiah no one is mentioned until the high priest Simon, the author's own contemporary. The omission of such popular idols as Ezra,<sup>6</sup> Daniel, Mordecai, and Esther, the great characters of the Writings, at once strikes the attention and calls for explanation. The only adequate explanation which has been forthcoming is the hypothesis that the third group had not as yet been completed. This hypothesis is confirmed by the established fact that at least Daniel and Esther were not yet written.

But we may go a step farther and ask whether there was any third group of Writings at all in Ben Sira's day, definitely recognized as belonging to the Scriptures. There were books in existence (e.g., Job) which afterward stood in the third division; but did these form a group by themselves, sharply distinguished from the two former groups? Probably not. It would seem that in Ben Sira's day books which were subsequently classed together in the third group, were still more or less entangled with the second group. The evidence for this is found in Ben Sira's peculiar allusion to Job in his praise of Ezekiel:

Ezekiel saw a vision  
And revealed the creatures in the chariot.  
And also he mentioned Job as a prophet  
Who fulfilled all the ways of righteousness.  
And also the Twelve prophets—  
May their bones flourish in their place.<sup>7</sup>

Here Job is not only inserted among the prophets, between Ezekiel and the Twelve, but is actually called a prophet. But at this point an exegetical difficulty arises. The praise of Job is subsumed under the praise of Ezekiel. It has been supposed that this was due to the fact that Ezekiel mentioned Job (14:20 ff.).

Josiah, Destruction of Jerusalem and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, The Twelve (collectively), Zerubbabel, Joshua, Nehemiah, Simon the Son of Onias!

<sup>5</sup>The allusions to Zerubbabel and Joshua are best explained out of Haggai and Zechariah, rather than out of Ezra.

<sup>6</sup>Compare the silence as to Ezra at II Macc. 2:13 noted above.

<sup>7</sup>B. S. 49:9. The Hebrew manuscript is mutilated at this point. I give the text with one exception as restored by Smend.

But why should such an incidental allusion to Job in Ezekiel be a reason for praising Ezekiel? At first sight Ben Sira's reference to Job in this connection seems pointless.<sup>8</sup> Is there not something more here than lies on the surface? Ben Sira evidently has a high regard for Job. He alludes to the book frequently. In the present passage he classes him with the prophets. This was contrary to the opinion that subsequently prevailed in the Palestinian tradition and which may well have been entertained by many of Ben Sira's contemporaries. If we may suppose that there was a dispute in progress as to the right of Job to be incorporated with the Prophets, we can at once understand the peculiarity of Ben Sira's allusion. He is citing the authority of Ezekiel in support of his own views. If this is the correct inference from the above passage we find ourselves right in the midst of the process of canon-building. There was a collection of Prophets as distinct from the Law, but its limits were not yet authoritatively determined. The exact classification of all the books which laid claims to being regarded as Scripture was still incomplete.<sup>9</sup> What is demonstrably true in the case of Job is inferentially true in the case of other books of the third group known to be in existence at that time (e.g., Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Nehemiah's *Memorabilia*). Only we are not to draw the wrong conclusion from this fact. We are not to infer that when these books were finally distinguished more sharply from the Prophets, it meant that they were less appreciated than before. Rather, their temporary association with the Prophets meant that the Canon of the Prophets itself was still inchoate.<sup>10</sup> A hard and fast dogmatic theory concerning them had not as yet been fixed. Hence the occasional confusion

<sup>8</sup> Accordingly Smend followed by Ryssel would emend to "I [i.e., Ben Sira] will make mention." But this is against all the textual authorities which read the verb as a third person with Ezekiel as subject.

<sup>9</sup> It has been sometimes argued that the way in which the Twelve are referred to collectively and placed after the other prophets in the position which they occupy in our present Hebrew Bibles implies that the collection of Prophets was as definitely grouped and ordered as it is at present. This overlooks the fact that in very early times the books were written on different rolls. Hence it is not likely that a definite order of the prophetic books was recognized at this time.

<sup>10</sup> Contrast the subsequent period when Daniel the prophet could not be included in the prophetic collection because it was closed to further additions.

of Prophets and Writings did not mean a higher conception of the canonicity of the Writings in these earlier times, *but a less accurately formulated theory of the canonicity of the Prophets*. In other words, in Ben Sira's day we are in a more primitive stage of canon-building than in the time of his grandson. What was true of the third group in the time of the grandson was true of the second group in the time of the grandfather. Its periphery was more or less wavering and inconstant.

2. This uncertain line of demarkation between the last two collections of the Scriptures corresponds with the fact that the very conception of a canon was not as yet clearly formulated by Ben Sira. For example, after likening the Law in its fructifying power to the Pishon, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Jordan, and the Gihon, he continues (B. S. 24:30 ff.):

And I—I was as an irrigating ditch,  
And as a conduit which flows into a garden.  
I said, I will water my garden,  
And give my garden-beds drink;  
And behold my ditch became a stream,  
And my stream became a sea.  
Once again will I let instruction shine out as the dawn,  
And beam afar off.  
Once again will I pour out doctrine as prophecy,  
And leave it to everlasting generations.  
Behold! I have not labored for myself alone,  
But for all those that seek wisdom.

There were Holy Writings (Scriptures) in existence, pre-eminently the Law, which were authoritative and upon which Ben Sira relied. His subordination to them is clear. Compared with them his writings are but as a conduit compared with a river.<sup>11</sup> But the distinction of his own writings from the Scriptures, at least from the Prophets, is not so clear. He also can pour forth instruction as prophecy and his instruction will be of lasting benefit to his people.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> He compares himself also to a late comer and a gleaner (36:16a; 30:25).

<sup>12</sup> He does not labor for himself alone but for all who love discipline (30:26). He feels justified in demanding the attention of the leaders of the congregation (30:27), and toward the close of his work pronounces a blessing upon those who meditated upon the words of wisdom which he had uttered in prophetic insight (50:27, 28; the text is somewhat doubtful but I give the probable meaning of the passage; cf. Smend *ad loc.*).

All this is incompatible with a developed theory of the Canon, such as we find in Josephus (*Contra Apionem* I, 8).<sup>13</sup>

If we have correctly construed the position of Ben Sira in the history of the Canon, we can at once understand how a nucleus for a third group of writings came into existence. When a theory of a distinctively prophetic collection was more precisely developed and the boundary line of the collection came to be more tightly drawn, certain books, like Job, found themselves on the outside of the collection, more probably for topical than for dogmatic reasons. These books would form the nucleus of the third group. If the implications of B. S. 49:9 have been correctly educed, this nucleus was forming in Ben Sira's day. Does the Psalter belong to this germinating nucleus?

#### BEN SIRA AND THE PSALTER

1. There can be no doubt that a collection of psalms was known to Ben Sira. In the general introduction to the hymn already alluded to the author proposes to sing the praises of the kings of Israel, the Prophets, the Wise Men, and also of

Those who search out psalms [*mizmor*] according to rule  
Composers of proverbs in books.<sup>14</sup>

2. But further, Ben Sira knew of a *Davidic* collection of psalms. David is praised as one who

In all his works gave thanks  
To God most high in words of glory;  
With all his heart he loved his Maker,  
And all his days he praised him in a constant sacrifice;  
Stringed instruments of song [music] he established before the altar,  
And the sound of psalms [i.e. the psalms as sung] he adapted to the harps.<sup>15</sup>

The fact that the Psalms went under the name of David warrants us in drawing the inference that Ben Sira would regard them

<sup>13</sup> Ben Sira occupies about the same position with reference to the Old Testament Canon that Clement of Rome or Barnabas does to the New Testament Canon.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 44:5. The somewhat obscure phrase in vs. 5a seems to refer to the metrical composition of the psalms.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 47:8, 9. The exact meaning of the text is again somewhat doubtful, but the composition of psalms is almost certainly implied.

as sacred. A collection of Davidic psalms would be at least on a level with Job in its scriptural authority, and would undoubtedly belong among those books which were more or less confused with the group of Prophets and finally formed the nucleus of the group of Writings. This conclusion is amply borne out when we come to examine Ben Sira's use of the Psalms. Such an examination will also aid us to determine the extent of the collection in use in Ben Sira's day.

3. The problem of the use of the Psalter by Ben Sira has been thrown into an entirely new light by the recent discoveries of the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus. Up till 1896 the only known ancestors of all existing texts were the Greek translation of the grandson and a Syriac translation. But since 1896 an increasing number of Hebrew fragments have been discovered, till now about two-thirds of the work exists in the original language. In the versions the relationship between Ecclesiasticus and the Psalter was obscured, but with the discovery of the Hebrew fragments an intimate connection between the two works is seen to exist. All discussions of the date of the Psalter carried on before 1896 must be revised in the light of the new evidence. Unfortunately the new light is not always sufficiently clear to enable us to see objects in their exact forms and relationships. Only general outlines are discernible. Great caution must therefore be exercised lest in the blur of the new dawn we become confused in our investigations. The difficulty lies in Ben Sira's peculiar method of scriptural quotation. Only once does he formally cite the Scriptures.<sup>16</sup> He seldom even quotes them. His relationship to them consists almost exclusively in the use of a common body of phrases, and even these are not always used in the same way. His relationship to the Old Testament is thus largely one of allusion, frequently of the most subtle kind. It is for this reason that it has so often been obscured in translation and has been fully recognized only after the discovery of the original Hebrew.

What is true of Ben Sira's use of the Scriptures generally is equally true of his use of the Psalter. This fact greatly complicates our problem. Observe just what the question before us is:

<sup>16</sup> 48:10, where Mal. 4:5 ff. (3:23 ff.) is cited with the formula "as it is written."

Was our Psalter, which we have seen to be extant in all probability by 117 B.C., also extant in the same form by 190-180 B.C.? In recent years it has been the fashion to bring down the final redaction of the Psalter to a much later period in order to allow opportunity for the incorporation of a large number of psalms supposed to be Maccabean. The relationship of Ben Sira to these or to allied psalms becomes very important. But where the relationship is of the allusive kind described above, the question of priority becomes very difficult to determine. It will greatly help us to pass an intelligent judgment upon this relationship if we first examine some typical instances of his relationship to the Law where the question of priority is determined upon independent grounds.

a) In the first place Ben Sira uses many phrases just as we do, which are current in the Law or in other parts of Scripture, e.g., "A land flowing with milk and honey," "to find favor in the eyes," "a respecter of persons," "men of worth," "dust and ashes," etc.

b) Of more importance are such phrases as "the sword that executeth vengeance" (B. S. 39:30; cf. Lev. 26:25) or "fiery heat and drought" (B. S. 40:9; cf. Deut. 28:22) which occur but once in the Bible.

c) Still more characteristic are the cases where Ben Sira has adapted the biblical phraseology to his own purposes, but where there can be no reasonable doubt that he had the original biblical contexts in mind:

1. Gen. 3:20: And the man called his wife Eve, for she was the mother of all living.

B. S. 40:29: From the day that he went forth from the womb of his mother until the day he returned to the mother of all living.

Ben Sira applies the phrase "mother of all living," which is found only at Gen. 3:20, to Mother Earth!

2. Exod. 24:10: And they saw the God of Israel and beneath his feet was as it were a paved work of sapphire stone and as the heaven itself [lit. the substance of the heaven] for clearness.

B. S. 43:1: The beauty of the height is the clear firmament  
And the substance of the heavens a glorious sight.

The phrase "heaven itself" is again unique at Exod. 24:10, and observe the reference to "clear" in both passages:

3. Deut. 28:2: And all these blessings shall come upon thee and overtake thee.

B. S. 3:8: In word and deed honor thy father  
That all blessings may overtake thee.

Ben Sira gives to the general promise in Deuteronomy a special application, but there is no room to doubt his dependence upon Deuteronomy as only here is the verb "overtake" used of blessings.

Sometimes Ben Sira's allusions are very slight and elusive. For example:

4. B. S. 46:6: And then because he [Joshua] wholly followed the Lord  
And in the days of Moses showed piety,  
He and Caleb the son of Jephunneh—

The phrase "wholly followed" is a peculiar phrase in the Hebrew and with but one exception (I Kings 11:6) it is used only of Caleb in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> Ben Sira uses it of Joshua, but he associates Caleb with Joshua which shows that he had the biblical use of the phrase in mind. Such an allusion would be completely lost on one who was not thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures and only one who was himself steeped in them would be capable of making such a subtle allusion. The noticeable thing about all these allusions is that in not one of them is the thought or phrasing left untouched. Some new twist or turn is always given to it.<sup>18</sup>

If, now, we turn to the Psalter, we shall find that the relationship of Ben Sira to it is precisely like his relationship to the Law.

a) There are those cases where isolated expressions which occur in the Psalter are also found in Ecclesiasticus. Thus "crown of

<sup>17</sup> Num. 14:24, 32 ff.; Deut. 1:36; Josh. 14:8, 9, 14.

<sup>18</sup> An interesting analogy to Ben Sira's use of Scripture is found in Kipling. Take, for example, the following introductory stanza from "The Song of the English":

Fair is our lot—Oh, goodly is our heritage (cf. Ps. 16:6).  
(Humble ye my people and be fearful in your mirth) (cf. Ps. 2:11),  
For the Lord our God Most High.  
He hath made the deep as dry (cf. Isa. 44:27).  
He hath smote for us a pathway to the ends of all the earth (cf. Isa. 11:15; Ps. 59:13).

There is scarcely a phrase in this stanza that is not taken from the Old Testament. Line 2, especially, is exactly in the manner of Ben Sira.

gold" (B. S. 45:12), though natural enough in English, has a combination of Hebrew words found again only in Ps. 21:3. The phrase "lips of grace" (B. S. 6:5), which are said to "receive greetings" (lit. peace) reminds of Ps. 45:2. Only here and at Prov. 22:11 are "grace" and "lips" conjoined. The phrase "such as turn aside to lies" (B. S. 51:2c), which involves a difficult Hebrew construction, is found again only at Ps. 40:4. "Arrows of a deceitful tongue" (B. S. 51:6) is strongly reminiscent of Ps. 52:4 and Ps. 120:3, 4).

b) When the peculiar word or idiom occurs in what is also a thought parallel, the connection is much closer:

1. Ps. 15:3 (Book I): He that hath no *slander* on his tongue.

B. S. 4:28 (5:14): Do not *slander* with thy tongue.

The word for "slander" used here is found again only at II Sam. 19:28 and then in a different form:

2. Ps. 34:9 (Book I): There is no *want* to them that fear him.

B. S. 40:26: There is no *want* in the fear of Jehovah.

The word for "want" used here is not found again in the Old Testament.

c) At times Ben Sira differs from the Psalms in a way to suggest intentional adaptation and hence dependence upon the Psalter:

3. Ps. 25:6 (Book I): Remember thy tender mercies, O Jehovah,  
And thy loving kindnesses for they have been from of old.  
B. S. 51:8: And I remembered the tender mercies of Jehovah  
And his loving-kindnesses which have been from of old.

Here the appeal to Jehovah in the Psalm would seem to have been changed to a statement of experience by Ben Sira. It is as if he wished to testify that the prayer of Jehovah had been answered. Observe also the identity of the parallelism:

4. Ps. 89:26 (Book III, appendix): He shall cry unto me, Thou art my Father  
My God, and the Rock of my Salvation.  
B. S. 51:10: And I cried, O Lord, Thou art my Father  
My God and the hero of my salvation.

What is put into the mouth of the future Davidic king in the psalm is adopted by Ben Sira to describe his own experience. In



the present case the dependence of Ben Sira upon the psalm is so clear that the corrupted Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus can be safely emended from the psalm:<sup>19</sup>

5. Ps. 89: 29: His seed also will I make to endure for ever  
And his throne as the days of heaven.  
B. S. 45: 15: And it became for him as an everlasting covenant  
And for his seed as the days of heaven.

What the psalm applies to the Davidic king is this time applied by Ben Sira to Aaron, probably a reflection of the changed political situation in Ben Sira's day.<sup>20</sup> Observe also the collocation of "seed" and "days of heaven" in both.

d) In other cases the relationship would seem to be simply imitative:

6. Ps. 107: 23, 24 (Book V): They that go down to the sea in ships  
Ps. 104: 25, 26 (Book IV): That do business in great waters  
These see the works of Jehovah  
And his wonders in the great deep.  
Yonder is the sea great and wide  
Wherein are things creeping innumerable  
Both small and great beasts,  
There go the ships  
Leviathan whom thou hast formed to play therein.  
B. S. 43: 24, 25: They that go down to the sea tell of its extent  
At the hearing of our ear we are astonished  
There are wonderful things, astonishing things of his works,  
Creatures of all sorts and the monstrous ones of the fish.

Note especially the gesticulatory "there" in both passages:

7. Ps. 147: 19 (Book V): He giveth snow like wool  
He scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes.  
B. S. 43: 19: As flocks of birds he shakes out his snow  
And also the hoar-frost he pours out as salt.

The relationship between Ben Sira and Ps. 147 is further strengthened by the following similarity in parallelism:

8. Ps. 147: 19: He showeth his word unto Jacob  
His statutes and ordinances unto Israel.

<sup>19</sup> The emendation is supported by the Greek.

<sup>20</sup> Ben Sira is fond of such adaptations. Cf. 45: 12 with Ps. 21: 3 and 44: 21 with Ps. 72: 8.

- B. S. 45:5: That he might tell in Jacob his statutes  
And his testimonies and ordinances to Israel.
9. Ps. 131:1 (Book V, Pilgrim Songs): Neither do I walk in great matters  
Or in things too wonderful for me.
- B. S. 3:21: What is too wonderful for thee do not seek out  
And what is beyond thy strength do not search out.

The context suggests that Ben Sira is elaborating the lesson of Ps. 131:

10. Ps. 106:23 (Book IV): [Moses] stood in the breach before him.  
B. S. 45:23c: [Phinehas] was zealous for the almighty God  
And stood in the breach before him.

The phrase "stood in the breach" occurs again only in Ezek. 13:5 and 22:30, but Ben Sira seems to give an accommodation of the psalm-passage as in the preceding context, B. S. 45:18 (And they were jealous of him [Aaron] in the wilderness), is a reminiscence of Ps. 106:16. Similarly, acknowledged dependence of Ben Sira upon certain psalms helps us to trace out subtle allusions to the same psalm which might otherwise escape us. E. g.,

11. Ps. 89:19: I have exalted one [David] chosen out of the people.  
B. S. 47:2: As the fat was exalted [i.e., separated] from the offering  
So David from Israel.

In view of the established dependence of Ben Sira upon Ps. 89 (cf. 4 and 5) this example becomes of especial importance, as it illustrates the very recondite character of the relationship which exists at times between Ben Sira and the psalms (cf. what was said above on the phrase "wholly followed").

d) The following instances are types of very many cases of connection where the priority is less easy to determine, if they are each examined separately:

12. Ps. 71:16 (Book 11, non-Davidic): Oh God thou hast taught me from my youth.  
B. S. 51:15: From my youth I have been taught wisdom.
13. Ps. 49:10 (Book II): And they shall leave their wealth to others.  
B. S. 14:15: Wilt thou not leave to another thy wealth?
14. Ps. 22:5 (Book 1): They trusted in Thee [God] and were not put to shame.  
B. S. 15:4: In it [the Law] he trusts and is not put to shame.

[To be continued]

## Work and Workers

### THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THE eighth general convention of the Religious Education Association will be held in Providence, R.I., February 14-16, 1911. The general theme of the convention is "Religious Education and the American Home." As usual, a very ample program has been provided. There will be nearly thirty meetings and about ninety speakers, many of them of national or international reputation. Among the subjects to be discussed are "The Situation in Respect to the American Home"; "The Obligation of Home and Church to the Children"; "The Home and the Modern City"; "Religious Education and Temporary Social and Industrial Conditions"; "The Church Training for Home Life"; "The Church and the Rural Home"; "The Sunday School and the Home"; "Character Development through Public Schools"; "The Moral Aim of the Public School." Among the speakers will be Rev. William Lawrence, Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts; Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*; Rev. James de Wolf Perry, Episcopal bishop of Rhode Island; Rabbi David Philipson, of Cincinnati; Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago; Dr. Frank K. Sanders, president of Washburn College; Dr. Shailer Mathews, dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago; Professor C. W. Votaw, of the University of Chicago; President Abram W. Harris, president of Northwestern University. Further information may be obtained from the office of the Religious Education Association, 193 Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

ANNOUNCEMENT has just been made of the death of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam at Brighton, England, at the age of eighty-four. Mr. Rassam was a native Syrian who was closely associated with A. H. Layard in his early explorations at Nineveh. In 1853 and 1877 Rassam was sent out at the head of expeditions by the British Museum, in the conduct of which he continued until 1882. Among his many discoveries were the famous bronze gates of Balawat, the first copies of the Babylonian Creation and Deluge Tablets, Ashurbanipal's palace at Kouyunjik, and the temple of Nabu at Nimrod. His published works were popular in character rather than scientific, the best known being *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (1897). For many years he has been living in retirement. With his death the last of the pioneers of exploration and discovery in Assyria and Babylonia has passed away. His lifetime embraces practically the whole history of the science of Assyriology thus far.

## Book Reviews

### A NEW COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW<sup>1</sup>

A study of this book has left upon the reviewer a strong impression that what the author in his Preface mentions as *one* of the aims of the volume, viz., "to supply, if possible, some of the elements which he [i.e., W. C. Allen, author of the commentary on Matthew in the International Series] has passed by, or has treated very briefly," is the *great* aim. Those neglected elements are "theological and religious."

The present review will concern mainly certain fundamental matters that are treated in the Introduction (pp. i-xlvi). By "fundamental" matters is meant such as fundamentally affect the quality and value of the commentary as a whole. Therefore we are not passing a partial judgment on the book when we confine our attention chiefly to the Introduction. The principles enunciated here are consistently applied throughout the volume. But it is also true that in some particulars the commentary is more satisfactory than the Introduction. This is the case especially where the subject-matter is ethical. In the main, however, the Introduction is a fair gauge of the merit of the work, and a survey of this will most easily and thoroughly acquaint us with the commentary.

First, the author. Dr. Plummer says he was "an early Jewish Christian, not sufficiently important to give his name to a Gospel, and in no way desiring to do so." Yet if the Gospel of Matthew is "the most important book of Christianity—the most important book that has ever been written"—a judgment that Dr. Plummer quotes from Renan, then, inasmuch as the unknown author is responsible for the addition of a very considerable part of the book, including the story of the supernatural conception, the charge to Peter, and the Great Commission, it appears hardly right to belittle his importance. The most valuable part of Matthew is indeed the Logia, but the influence of other parts, especially on the organization of the church, has been immeasurable.

Second, the sources. Dr. Plummer sees in Mark and the Logia the

<sup>1</sup> *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew.* By Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., formerly Master of University College, Durham, and sometime Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1909. Pp. xlv+451. \$3.00.

two main sources, to which at least two others are to be added, viz., the Old Testament and "traditions current among the first Christians." No attempt is made to ascertain the limits of the Logia, and there is no discussion of the use which the evangelist made of that document. In like manner, the single tradition of Matthew, its relation to the Logia and to the other Synoptics, are not discussed. As the author does not say what material he regards as having been derived from "traditions current among the first Christians," we may not improbably hold that he assigns the large body of peculiar Matthaean material to this source. "Traditions current among the *first* Christians." This statement assumes what is greatly in need of proof. Take, for example, the narrative of the supernatural birth of Jesus, which Dr. Plummer thinks may possibly go back to a writing by Mary herself. There is no trace of this narrative among the "first" Christians, no trace of it within forty years of the death of Jesus.

The important material found only in Matthew, and any material not found in the Logia, cannot in whole or in part be assigned to "traditions current among the *first* Christians" without some proof.

It is quite obvious that a discussion of the sources of Matthew's Gospel is of the first importance, and Dr. Plummer's volume seems to be fundamentally defective at this point. The recent volume by Dr. Sharman on *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future* shows very convincingly that the various strata of Matthew cannot be treated as equally worthy of acceptance.

A third section of the Introduction is devoted to the Christology of the First Gospel. This is dealt with under the headings "Son of Man" and "Son of God." The paragraph on the title "Son of Man" is thus summed up: "It insisted upon the reality of his humanity and his unique position as a member of the human race. It hinted at supernatural birth. . . . And, when it became connected with the future glories of the Second Advent, it revealed what it had previously veiled respecting the present office and eternal pre-existence of him in whom human nature found its highest and most complete expression." Now all this seems open to very serious criticism. To say that this title "insists" on the reality of the humanity of Jesus implies that, when the expression came into use, his humanity was *questioned*; but this was certainly not the case if the term goes back to Jesus, as the author supposes. Again, the view that the title affirms the "unique position" of Jesus as a member of the human race has against it, first, that this emphasis on the definite article, in view of the absence of an article

in Aramaic and the uncertainty regarding the exact Aramaic expression, is unwarrantable, and second, that it is not in accord with the spirit of Jesus to suppose that in this self-designation he asserted his superiority to other men. When at last he was rejected by the Jewish people and near the hour of his death, he affirmed his messiahship, in response to the solemn question of the high priest; but self-assertion was far from his spirit. He sought to win men not by claims regarding either his nature or his office but by revealing the love of God.

We must confess that we are not able to discover a "hint" of the supernatural birth in this title of Jesus, however it is interpreted. Suppose we allow that it is equivalent to "son of humanity," where is the suggestion of the *method* by which he became such a "son"? Had Jesus styled himself the "son of woman," we might sooner speak of a "hint" of supernatural birth.

And finally, we cannot agree with Dr. Plummer that the title, "when it became connected with the future glories of the Second Advent, revealed what it had previously veiled respecting the present office and eternal pre-existence of him in whom human nature found its highest and most complete expression." A *man* may reveal today what he veiled yesterday, but how can a title do this? A title may in time be seen to have a deeper significance than it had at first, and perhaps the author means nothing more than this. Accordingly he would have us regard the title as revealing, at the close of the New Testament era, something respecting the "present office and eternal pre-existence" of Christ. But the probable Aramaic original designated man as a frail and transient being, and then, in Enoch, it is given to the Messiah. But unless this word "Messiah" contains hints of "eternal pre-existence"—and who would affirm such a thing?—it appears quite unwarrantable to say that the title "Son of Man" ever had any "revelation" to make on this subject.

The paragraph on the "Son of God" illustrates perfectly the author's critical method and theological position. We cannot do better, therefore, than to look at it somewhat closely. First, as regards critical standpoint and method. It is admitted that "apart from the Fourth Gospel" we could not be certain that our Lord used the words "Son of God" of himself, and further that John may give us what he believed to be Christ's meaning rather than the words actually used. The use of the title in Matt. 16:16 seems to be set aside in view of Mark's silence, but in Matt. 26:63 we are "on surer ground." Then we also have the title at the baptism of Jesus and at his transfiguration, in the

devil's challenge (4:3), in the cries of demoniacs (8:29), and in the centurion's exclamation (27:54). These are all the data advanced. Then follows this conclusion: Allowing "for all critical uncertainties, we may regard it as securely established that expressions of this kind were used both *by* our Lord and *of* him during his life on earth." The phrase "allowing for all critical uncertainties" does not appear to mean very much, the authority of John, even though he gives "what *he* believed to be Christ's meaning rather than the words actually used," being apparently taken as justification of the statement that "expressions of this kind" were used by Jesus; for the author does not find the title employed by Jesus in the Synoptics. But surely one ought not to say that one is "allowing for *all* critical uncertainties" when the discourses of the Fourth Gospel are treated as the very words of Jesus and are set by the side of the Synoptic statements.

Nor are the words "allowing for all critical uncertainties" taken in a serious manner when it is declared that "we may regard it as securely established that expressions of this sort" (i.e., "Son of God," or equivalents) "were used of Jesus *by others*, in his lifetime." This is denied by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 225, 226), on whom, however, a few sentences later, the author leans for support. Again, "it is evident," says Dr. Plummer, "that the editor of this Gospel is fully convinced of the appropriateness of this far-reaching expression" (i.e., Son of God). If he added to Peter's confession (16:16) the words "the Son of the living God," it was "because he felt that the addition was necessary in order to express the full meaning of what the apostle said." Granted that such was the feeling of the unknown editor of this Gospel. It does not follow that it would be uncritical for a modern interpreter of Peter to confess that he feels differently. We are not aware that the unknown editor claimed to have, or that there is any reason why we should claim that he had, an infallible gift of interpretation.

There is yet one point in this paragraph regarding the author's critical method that should be noted. "The writer of this Gospel shows us very plainly," he says, "what Jesus himself thought of his own relation to God and to man." We look to see where this thought of Jesus is "very plainly" shown; and among other statements we read this: "He (Jesus) confers on Peter (16:19) and on all the apostles (18:19) authority to prohibit and to allow in the Church which he is about to found. . . . The Church is *his* Church (16:18), the elect in it are *his* elect (24:31). . . . And all this is little more than the beginning. On the third day after his death he will rise again, and then he will

possess God's authority in heaven and in earth, and also his power of omnipresence" (28:18, 20). Now, however congenial it may be to a writer to assume that these passages are critically secure, it does not in our day tend to awaken confidence in the abiding worth of his work. It gives it a distinctly partisan character.

It was said above that this paragraph on the "Son of God" illustrates the author's theological position. A word now on this point. What is the title "Son of God" thought to signify? The author quotes with entire approval Dalman's words that Jesus "made it indubitably clear that he was not only *a* but *the* Son of God." But it appears very doubtful whether he means the same that Dalman does by "Son of God," and therefore whether it is quite pertinent to claim Dalman's support. For Dalman distinguishes sharply between the meaning which *Jesus* himself attached to sonship to God and that which the synoptists saw in the title "Son of God." According to the former, it designated him as possessor of royal dominion; according to the latter it designated him, after the ideas of the Greeks, as *born of God*. This appears to be essentially Dr. Plummer's understanding of the term. Therefore, even according to the German scholar whose statement on the claim of Jesus he quotes approvingly, his understanding of the title is *not* in line with the thought of Jesus but rather with that of the evangelists.

So much for the paragraph on Christology. It is obvious that from the standpoint of critical scholarship it must be entirely rewritten.

We will not dwell on the author's discussion of the date of Matthew, which is thought to be "hardly as late as 75," nor on the surprisingly large space given to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* both in the Introduction and throughout the volume, but will consider very briefly his discussion of the miraculous.

When we come to the first miracle (p. 121) the author indicates his position on the Lord's miracles in general in quotations from Sanday and Illingworth, and in these sentences: "To those who believe that Jesus Christ was what he claimed to be, that is, to those who believe in the Incarnation, there is no difficulty about miracles. They are the natural works of a supernatural person. If he was not supernatural, then difficulty arises. But in that case we tear up the New Testament, and the history of the Church becomes inexplicable." The tone and the assertions of this paragraph make one look to see whether one is not mistaken regarding the title of the book. We do not seem to be reading the exegesis of a Gospel, but rather some doctrinal treatise of a controversial character. Miracles are "the natural works of a supernatural



person," and there is no need of having difficulty with them if we believe in Jesus. Hence if we *do* have any difficulty with miracles, we are obliged to infer that we do not really believe in the Incarnation! They are just "the natural works of a supernatural person." But in that case, why were there so few in the life of Jesus? and why do we not see them throughout the world and throughout the ages, for God is everywhere and always active?

But again, can we be quite so certain that we know what it is "natural" for a "supernatural person" to do? It seems obvious that we cannot know unless some supernatural person tells us. But Jesus gave no instruction on this point, nor can we draw a safe inference from his own activity. For miracles were surely exceptional in his works; his common, and we may say *natural*, occupation was teaching. And further, God has not declared by his prophets, nor does he reveal through the ongoing of the universe, that it is "natural" for a "supernatural person" to do miracles. The countless processes of life, lower and higher, which we ascribe to God, and which appear to be his ordinary, if not "natural," works, are not miracles. What right then have we, to whom God has in no wise made any communication to the effect that it is "natural for a supernatural person" to work miracles, to assume this in a discussion of the works of Jesus?

But is then the question of natural and supernatural so vital that any possible solution of it would justify one in tearing up the New Testament? When we talk in this manner, do we not exalt metaphysics above experience, and put ourselves back among the scholastics?

From the author's introductory paragraph on the miraculous one is measurably sure how the exegesis of the various miracles will result. The resurrection of certain saints near Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion appears to be the only alleged miraculous event in Matthew which Dr. Plummer thinks is legendary (p. 402).

We need not dwell then on the miraculous works of Jesus, but will pass to the author's treatment of the resurrection (pp. 411-22). The evidence for the appearances of our Lord after his death and resurrection is "less full than we should have wished, and it is also less harmonious." Yet "the divergences are not sufficient to discredit the testimony as a whole, which is in remarkable agreement about the main facts." In concluding his introductory paragraph on the resurrection the author says: "The Christian Church exists and has existed and grown since the year of the crucifixion. So enormous a fact cannot be explained without an adequate cause, and *it is impossible to find an adequate cause if the*

*resurrection of Christ from the tomb is rejected as fiction.*" (The italics are mine.) By "resurrection" the author means nothing else than a physical rising from the grave. Holding this view of the subject the author proceeds to an exegesis of the text, and we of course know perfectly in advance what the conclusions will be. But it is obvious that there cannot be an impartial examination of the data when a physical resurrection of Jesus is held to be absolutely fundamental to a rational view of history. This position is a definite repudiation of the first principle of historical criticism. But as to the specific declaration that "it is impossible to find an adequate cause" of the Christian church "if the resurrection of Christ from the tomb is rejected as fiction," is that a self-evident proposition? Does Christianity really rest on so slight a basis? Is it rational to let an *alleged* fact in the *physical* realm eclipse the teaching and the life of Jesus, facts of *verifiable spiritual* importance? Is it rational to make the revelation of God through the living Jesus depend in any degree on the fortunes of his once dead body? To do so appears very much like subjecting one's common-sense to the exigencies of a traditional dogma. The question of the resurrection is doubtless important, but it is by no means clear that Jesus would cease to have power to redeem our lives were we to take agnostic ground in respect to the fate of his physical body. And moreover it is sincerely to be deplored that religious teachers should wish to force those whom they influence to choose between a physical resurrection and no resurrection at all. It is not yet plain that we are in that situation. The evidence regarding the thought of Jesus and the experience of his disciples, especially that of Paul, is not recognized as forcing us into this dilemma; and surely the belief of multitudes of Christian people who look forward to a joyful resurrection but a resurrection which is entirely independent of the old physical body is an indication that they who make the very existence of Christianity depend on the physical character of the resurrection of Jesus are bound to put a solid foundation under the claim that his resurrection *was* physical.

But we have already transcended the limit set for this review, and will close with the general remark that the characteristic note of Dr. Plummer's book is its attempt to maintain the traditional Christology.

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Professor Gilbert having treated mainly of the Introduction, the present review will deal chiefly with the element of exegesis. Renan

said that the Gospel according to Matthew was "the most important book of Christendom, the most important book which has ever been written."<sup>2</sup> Jülicher says the same thing, "Certainly Matthew has become the most important book ever written. . . . It has exerted its enormous influence upon the Church because it was written by a man who bore within himself the spirit of the growing Church Universal, and who, free from all party interests, knew how to write a Catholic Gospel: that is to say, a Gospel destined and fitted for all manner of believers."<sup>3</sup> A still more recent writer, Von Soden, agrees with these authorities. He says of this Gospel, "It points onward to the development toward Catholicism; hence it became the chief gospel, the work which took the lead in guiding this development, and in so far no book ever written is of greater historical importance."<sup>4</sup> If these men are even approximately correct, a masterly modern commentary upon this Gospel would be a most valuable contribution to our exegetical literature. In what measure does the work of Dr. Plummer meet this demand?

Exegetically, it is a superior production. Dr. Plummer is not a tyro at this trade. His commentary on Luke in the "International Critical Commentary Series" is considered by some to represent the high-water mark even in that notable succession. This commentary on Matthew is almost as good as the one on Luke. It has the same indications of ripe scholarship and wide reading and the same general sanity of conclusions. It was probably prepared in less time and has some marks of rather hasty or wholesale compilation. For example, when we compare pp. 204-9 with the corresponding expositions in Alexander Maclaren's volumes on Matthew we find that frequently Dr. Plummer has merely summarized what Maclaren has said on these themes. Yet beyond the fact that Maclaren's expositions are starred in the bibliography of the Preface there is no indication of the fact that this work is so largely indebted to the other. However, the matter is measurably worked over, and it is an evidence of good judgment to lean heavily upon an acknowledged master of homiletical exposition such as Dr. Maclaren was.

The method of exposition is as follows: The text of Matthew is divided into sections and without quoting the text itself an exposition is given of the section in a continuous discussion. If the sections are long a preliminary survey of their contents is given, and each chapter

<sup>2</sup> *Les Evangiles*, 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction to the New Testament*, 314.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Early Christian Literature*, 199.

discussion is followed with a paragraph or paragraphs in finer print with notes on textual criticism and parallelisms in the Synoptics and the apocryphal writings. Sufficient notice is given throughout of the parallels in the other gospels and of Matthew's changes from his authority in Mark. The notes and references to other authorities are always valuable. But it is to exegesis that the chief strength of the commentary is given, and according to its success or failure here it must stand or fall. How shall we judge it from this standpoint?

It seems to us to be packed full of most excellent exegetical material. Sometimes a single paragraph will contain a summary of what might have occupied a volume and represents the assured conclusions of years or indeed of a lifetime of study. No student need feel disappointed on any page, unless it be that the limits of space make the discussions briefer than would be desirable sometimes. Yet this is so much better than being prolix. One is sure to find plenty of good suggestion at every point and the evidence of profound learning and mature judgment in the summaries presented. Dr. Plummer is well abreast of all modern thought in his exegesis, liberal in his outlook, independent in his research, and clear and accurate in his statements.

He is quite orthodox and conservative at all vital points. He believes in the reality of the Virgin-Birth and of the Resurrection. He believes in the personality of the devil and the existence of the angels. He believes that it was impossible for Jesus to deceive men about these things and also impossible for Jesus to have been ignorant concerning the truth in these matters. He believes that if Jesus had had two human parents he would have suffered the hereditary contamination of the race, but with one human parent he escaped it. "The divine element would exclude all possibility of taint from the human mother, for it is inconceivable that the divine element should receive pollution," p. 7. This seems to us very absurd. If Jesus "did not share in the innate proneness toward evil which all other human beings exhibit," then he was not tempted in all points like as we are, and the Incarnation fell short of the reality presented in the New Testament. A better conception of the facts of the case in the Incarnation is displayed in the comments on p. 126 concerning the limitations in the knowledge of Jesus.

It is always a temptation of the exegete to improve upon the text by the addition of unwarrantable inferences and subjective fancies and unjustifiable subtleties of every sort. This commentary seems to have avoided any such fault for the most part, although when we read that

Simon and Andrew apparently leave their net in the lake, without waiting to draw it in, when they are called to the discipleship by Jesus, p. 49, it seems that this is coming perilously close to adding to that which is written; and when we find a note suggesting that "it is remarkable that legend has not identified the money paid to the soldiers with that which was flung back by Judas, for to make the same coins do the unholy work on both occasions would have been truly dramatic," p. 423, we admire this finally realized dramatic instinct but see no good reason for its tardy suggestion.

However, these are very minor matters and if we cannot agree with the author in all of these we can express our gratitude to him for producing a commentary which on the whole is eminently satisfactory, courageously facing all problems, and throwing a flood of illumination upon obscure texts and making the chief characters of the narrative stand out in lifelike realism and the general meaning and purpose of the book level to all understandings. There is a faithful dealing with the facts throughout, and the commentary as a whole is one of the best in the English language on this book. We commend it most heartily as combining modern scholarship with spiritual insight, a real and thorough-going interpretation of a most important book.

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## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

CHAMBERLIN, GEORGIA L. The Hebrew Prophets, or Patriots and Leaders of Israel. [Constructive Bible Studies. Secondary Series. Edited by Ernest D. Burton.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910.

This is the first instalment of a book intended to offer a course of study in the prophets of Israel adapted to the needs of students in secondary schools and in the corresponding grades of the Sunday School. The second and third parts of the volume will follow in short order so that classes which started with the use of this book in the Autumn may be kept going through the year without interruption.

Miss Chamberlin's method is to print selected portions of the writings generally ascribed to a prophet by modern scholarship, selecting such portions as are likely to appeal to young people and to afford a fair impression of the prophet's character and work. These selections are accompanied by the necessary introductory matter and by brief explanatory notes. Maps and illustrations contribute their part toward making this a very attractive book. It is likely to fill a need for a course of this kind which has long been felt.

COOK, A. S. The Authorized Version of the Bible and Its Influence. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 80. \$1.

This is a reprint of a chapter from the author's *Cambridge History of English Literature*. It is an admirable compendium of information regarding the rise of the Authorized Version and its influence together with profound appreciation of its subject matter and of the literary form stamped upon it by the translators of the King James Version.

DUFF, A. History of Old Testament Criticism. New York: Putnam; 1910. Pp. xiii+201. \$0.75.

A brief and attractive presentation of the work of the founders of the modern method of Bible-study, with photographs of many of them. It is a handy compendium of the main facts.

### ARTICLES

HAUPT, P. Micah's Capucinade, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX, 85-112.

A strophic and textual reconstruction of Mic. 1:11-15, with numerous textual and critical notes.

PETERS, J. P. Notes on some Ritual Uses of the Psalms, *ibid.*, 113-25.

Some suggestions, based upon the study of six technical terms in the Psalter, to the effect that the psalms were used extensively in connection with the sacrificial ritual.

### NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

D'ALMA, J. Philon d'Alexandrie et le Quatrième Évangile. Paris: Nourry, 1910. Pp. viii+117. Fr. 1.25.

It is claimed that Alexandrian thought exerted a larger influence on the Fourth Gospel than is usually recognized, yet the Logos doctrine in Philo has been transformed and heightened by the Fourth Evangelist.

JACQUIER AND BOURCHANY. La résurrection de Jésus-Christus. Les miracles évangéliques. Conférences apologetiques données aux facultés catholiques de Lyon. Paris: Gabalda & Cie, 1911. Pp. xxi+312.

A defense not only of the traditional view of Jesus' resurrection but also of the gospel miracle stories in general, and their evidential value as proof of Jesus' messiahship, divine sonship, and incomparable holiness.

DE LE ROI, J. Neujüdische Stimmen über Jesum Christum. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 54. M. 0.75.

A brief statement of the history and present status of the Jewish attitude toward Jesus in different European countries and in North America.

#### ARTICLES

MOULTON, W. J. The Relation of the Gospel of Mark to Primitive Christian Tradition, *Harvard Theological Review*, III (1910).

The literature of the subject, mainly for the last decade, is reviewed and the present condition of the problem is set forth clearly. The writer thinks the progress made in this field in recent years is encouraging.

ROBINSON, B. W. An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX (1910), 181-89.

An Ephesian imprisonment of Paul in which he wrote the letters to Philemon, so-called Ephesians, Colossians, and possibly Philippians, is thought to explain best the historical situation for these epistles.

#### RELATED SUBJECTS

##### BOOKS

BOWNE, B. P. The Essence of Religion. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. vi+298. \$1.50.

A volume of sermons from the late Professor Bowne. They are characterized by the simplicity and perspicuity so prized by all readers of his writings. The themes chosen for treatment are great ones and the presentation of them is eminently sane and wholesome.

SMALL, ALBION W. The Meaning of Social Science. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. 309. \$1.50.

In this series of lectures, originally delivered before the graduate school of the University of Chicago, Professor Small endeavors to make clear to the average man the task of the sociologist. He has rendered important service in emphasizing the fact that no science lives to itself alone, but that all sciences as integral parts of the one great science of human life are vitally related and can be fully understood only as they are studied together.

LOBSTEIN, P. An Introduction to Protestant Dogmatics. Authorized Translation from the original French edition by Arthur Maxson Smith, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. xxi+275. \$1.62 postpaid.

It is encouraging to students of modern thought to see that this excellent work has met with a sufficiently cordial reception to warrant the publishers in running a new impression. The translator has rendered valuable service to English readers in making Lobstein's treatise accessible to them.

MABIE, HENRY CLAY. The Task Worth While, or The Divine Philosophy of Missions. Seminary Lectures (1909-10). Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1910. Pp. xx+343. \$1.25.

This book contains the lectures delivered by Dr. Mabie during the season of 1909-10 before the theological seminaries of the Baptist denomination in the United

States. Out of a long experience as Executive Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society of that denomination, coupled with his observation during extended visits to the various portions of the missionary field, he brings valuable instruction and words of inspiration to the supporters of missions. The lectures cannot fail to be of particularly great help to men who are looking forward to service as pastors and missionaries.

BALLARD, ADDISON. *From Talk to Text*. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. x+190.

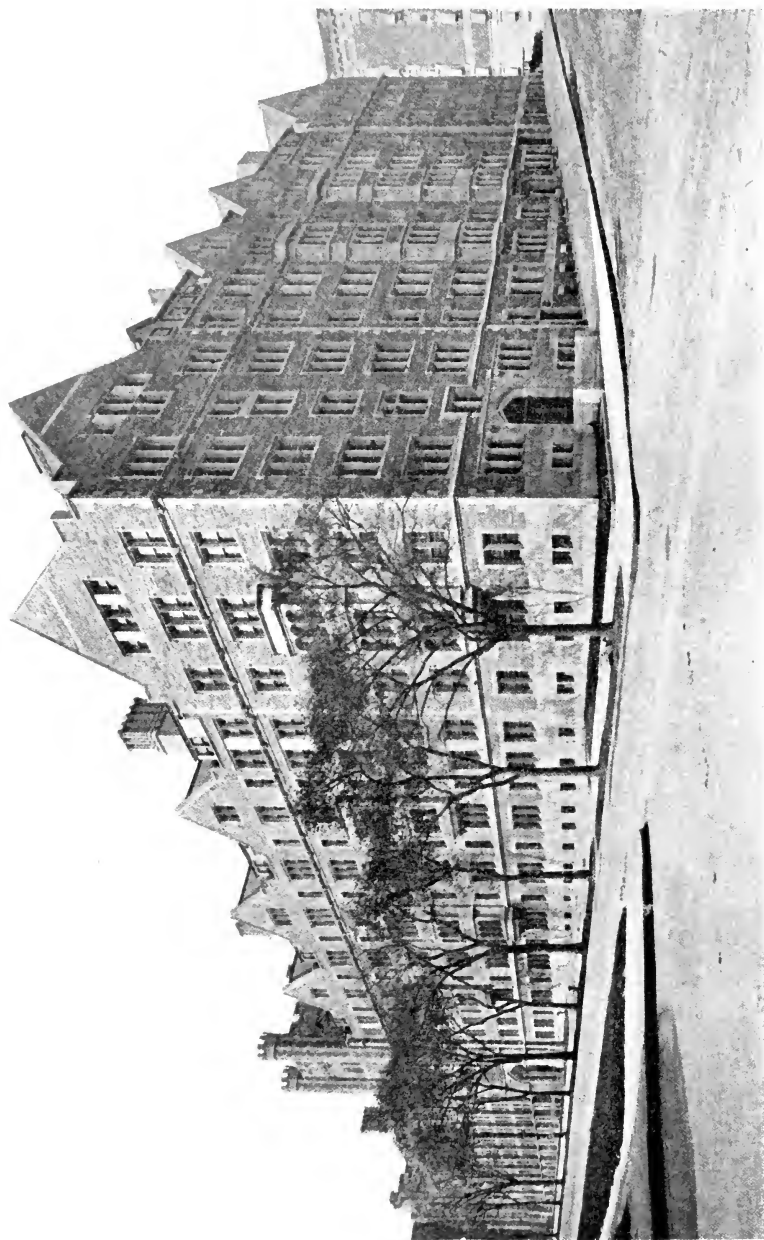
A series of fragmentary homilies on twenty-five different topics. They are of considerable value for devotional purposes, but make no contribution to the exegesis of any text.

TURTON, W. H. *The Truth of Christianity. Being an Examination of the More Important Arguments for and against Believing in that Religion*. Seventh ed. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 604. \$1.25.

This book is of interest as representing the thinking of one who was all his life a member of the British army. The point of view of the discussions is consistently that of the orthodox and traditional school. To readers of this type the volume will be welcome.







THE NEW BUILDINGS OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

FEBRUARY, 1911

NUMBER 2

## Editorial

### THE SUPPLY OF EDUCATED MEN FOR THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

In another part of this issue of the *Biblical World* there are printed certain tables of statistics respecting the registration in the theological schools of the United States during the last thirty years. An examination of these tables discloses some interesting facts. As has been for some time well known, there was a considerable increase in the number of theological students studying in the divinity schools of this country in the fifteen years between 1880 and 1895. According to the tables of Mr. Penfield this increase amounted for the schools of the country to 1663, or approximately 33 per cent of the number registered in 1880. In the next five years there was a marked *decline* in number, involving the loss, according to Mr. Penfield's tables, of 641. Within the next five years, 1900-5, the registration of men still further declined, but less rapidly, involving a falling-off in students of 276, though this loss in men was in part offset by an increase in the number of women pursuing theological studies. From 1905-10, on the other hand, there has been a notable increase of 1888 men. Apparently, therefore, the last five years have more than compensated in gain for the losses of the preceding ten years, with the result that the present registration is higher than at any preceding period, exceeding by 971 the high-water mark of 1895. This rapid increase in the last five years Mr. Penfield ascribes, and no doubt in large part justly, to the efforts, made since about 1902 by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and other organizations, to direct attention to the decline in the number of students for the

ministry, and to interest the young men of the country in the work of the ministry. The results are certainly encouraging to those who believe in the work of the ministry, and also indicate the value of publicity and intelligent efforts to direct attention to the needs of the church.

But when one turns from Mr. Penfield's tables, which pertain to the theological schools of the country as a whole, to those which pertain to the graduate schools of the country, that is, to those whose students have for the most part graduated from college before entering upon a theological course, the figures prove to be somewhat less reassuring to those who believe that, with the rising intelligence of the country, the standards of education and intelligence of the ministry should correspondingly rise. The fourth of the tables which we have printed in another portion of this issue of the *Biblical World* show, despite any possible inaccuracy of the figures, several interesting facts.

1. The increase of over 1,600 in the number of theological students of the country, which took place in 1880-95 was, as a whole, in the graduate schools, i.e., in the schools in which the students had, in large part, pursued a college course previous to the course in theology. Indeed, the gain in the graduate schools was greater than that of the net gain in the total number of schools. More exactly stated, in the decade from 1879-80 to 1889-90, the graduate schools gained, according to our tables, 1062, while the non-graduate schools stood at the end practically where they did at the beginning, the tables indicating a gain of 14 students. In the five years from 1889-90 to 1894-95, the graduate schools made a further gain of 865, while the non-graduate schools lost 278 students.

2. From an analysis of the decline in the registration of the theological schools of the country, amounting to over 900 students, which took place between 1894-95 and 1904-5, it appears that the graduate schools lost in this period 645 students, the non-graduate schools 272, which number is, however, reduced to 71 if women be included.

3. Of the increase of some 1900 students in the total registration, which has taken place in the years from 1905-10, the graduate schools of the country have gained, if we take account of actual

registration only, somewhat less than 400, the non-graduate schools somewhat over 1,500. While the total registration of the schools of the country is higher than ever before, that of the graduate schools is still over 200 below the high-water mark of 1894-5.

In other words, the encouraging increase in theological students in the fifteen years from 1880-95 was, as a whole, in the schools devoted chiefly to college graduates, and the loss in the decade from 1895-1905 was mainly in these schools, while the gain in the last five years has been predominantly in the non-graduate schools. This latter fact is the more noteworthy because the efforts to which Mr. Penfield refers, and to which he ascribes the increase in the number of students during the last five years, were directed almost wholly toward the college students of the country. That this resulted in an increase of somewhat less than 400 students in the graduate theological schools of the country, and of over 1,500 in the other schools, is ample justification and reward for the effort. But that the increase should be so largely in the non-graduate schools is a fact which calls for serious consideration.

We venture at this time to draw but one inference from these figures. It is not yet time to give over active efforts to interest the college students of the country in the opportunities which the Christian ministry offers for lives of worth and usefulness. We rejoice in the access to the ranks of the partially educated ministry which will come from the increase in the number of students in those schools which do not require a college education as preparation for admission to them. But we are fully persuaded that there is still an inadequately satisfied demand for men in the Christian ministry who have had that fuller preparation for its work which can be obtained as a rule only by a college course followed by three or more years of special preparation for the ministry.

## SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF REGENERATION

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The theological terms of the church are largely taken from the vital religious metaphors of the New Testament. Many of those metaphors naturally express the extraordinary initial religious experience of adults passing from heathenism into Christianity. So we have the figure of resurrection—"Ye who were dead in trespasses and sins hath he quickened." Again it is that of purification—"Ye were washed." Again of adoption—"Ye have received the spirit of adoption." Again it is the life in the spirit contrasted with the life in the flesh—"Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit." Or it is the new birth—"born not of the will of man but of God," "the washing of regeneration." Jesus' word to Nicodemus, "Ye must be born again," is a striking symbol to express the necessity of a complete re-estimate of values. These expressions in the New Testament are perfectly natural as they relate to the glorious experience of new apprehensions of truth, new moral freedom, new hope and joy. It was a new life with profoundest emotional realization of its renewal.

The metaphor of the new birth or regeneration afforded opportunity for theological explanation of the phenomena of the new religious experience. A man was born naturally, reborn spiritually. Before the great event he was not a child of God; ever after it he was. It was a great supernatural crisis, a break sharply separating the new life from the old. To the converts from heathenism this explanation could be applied with sufficient appropriateness, and, of course, with telling homiletic effect. But as the church more and more changed from a community of such converts from heathenism to a community of those reared from childhood under Christian influence, a literal use of this metaphor of regeneration became difficult. Children were instructed from the first years in the Christian faith, and trained in habits of devotion. After a kind of

novitiate for careful instruction they were admitted to full membership in the church. At what point did regeneration take place? When did these children pass from death unto life? Were they at first dead in trespasses and sins, and in need of a divine renewal? A rigid theological system knows no distinctions. Regeneration means regeneration. To be sure the church might have found other metaphors than those applied to Nicodemus, the traditionalist, and to the Corinthians, fresh from their heathen vices. Theology might have been enriched by terms chosen from Jesus' parables of the Seed and of the Son. Indeed, a suggestive hint might have been found in his reference to the conversion of the already regenerate Peter. But regeneration had been agreed upon as expressive of the status of the Christian. If the facts of a normally developing religious experience do not seem to leave room for a regeneration, so much the worse for the facts. But refuge was found in the dogma of baptismal regeneration. The spiritual change of status takes place in the child through the means of the sacrament, and henceforth his spiritual development is to be expected as a normal growth of this spiritually imparted life. Regeneration is thus saved as a dogma, but lost as a fact of experience. A certain logical advantage is secured. The development of the religious life as a process of experience is recognized, and there is no necessity for any special moment in that development to be singled out for peculiar significance.

Evangelicalism vigorously protests against this substitution of a magical formula for the religious experience. The evangelical convert, going back to the New Testament, finds congenial expression of his own experience in the glowing language that speaks of a new spiritual life, the gift of God. A Wesley revival, and every real repentance, afford evidence that the New Testament experience is reproducible today, and happy converts give their testimony of renewal and spiritual freedom. But again the deadening tendency of making all religious experience alike asserts itself. And again the children and youth of Christian families are expected to be the subjects of exactly the same process as adult new converts, and so again regeneration becomes a dogma instead of an experience. And strangely enough, the very insistence upon experiential religion

further this end. The believer, desiring to meet the demand that he shall give testimony of his religious life, repeats of necessity the current language of religious expression. He knows no other. Religious experience is very difficult to express in words. Only the religious genius has that power. The common man uses the language which is given him to use. And so, without the least hypocrisy, but by sheer imitation, those who have never known a moment of conversion declare that whereas they were blind now they see, and that what things before they hated now they love, and what before they loved now they hate. And evangelical theology falls into the same error as sacramental theology, for it declares that there is a moment in the life of every Christian *whether he be conscious of the fact or not*, at which regeneration takes place. When one attempts to follow this theory into the youthful experience of children of twelve, ten, eight, and even six years of age, in order to discover what in any given case regeneration could mean, one reaches the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Yet evangelical faith is founded on the significance of a real religious experience. The practical men and women of our churches always give the primacy to religious experience. Why then should we be embarrassed by this historical bondage of rigid theological terms derived from the living metaphors of Scripture? We greatly need to return to the New Testament conceptions of religion, not that we may slavishly copy any type of religion there found, but that we may realize that the only religion that has any value is that which is real in the experience of the individual soul.

A consideration of the psychology of regeneration is therefore eminently desirable, for the use of the term psychology implies that regeneration is an experience. If regeneration may take place unconsciously to him who is regenerated, either at baptism or in some unknown moment of right attitude, then psychology cannot study it for psychology is concerned with consciousness. But if by regeneration we mean some real experience of life (and that is all that the modern man has the slightest interest to consider), then its psychological study is of the highest importance.

From the point of view then alike of the New Testament, of practical religious people, and of psychology, there are no religious



values that are not real to our experience. This is distinctly the teaching of Jesus and the apostles and should be fundamental in all evangelical teaching. If regeneration is a vital doctrine it must be interpreted in accordance with the facts of life.

There is a very true sense in which every significant experience of life is regenerating. And often that simple experience that is wrongly called conversion in children is far less a new birth than many that come a little later. The first real experience of suffering sometimes changes a light-hearted youth into a mature Christian. The wondrous experience of motherhood often makes of a gay, frivolous girl a new being. A residence in a social settlement will transform the child of selfish ambition into an apostle of human betterment. A course in biology, opening to the student the real meaning of the evolutionary process, may make the world anew and the student is born again into that new world. An earnest and candid examination of the origin and structure of the biblical books has often revolutionized the ideas of a man and shifted his entire basis of religious authority. Persons who have passed through these various experiences know themselves to have been reborn. So profound in their spiritual quality are such experiences, that nothing but a dogmatic bias could give to some earlier unrecognized religious moment the name regeneration, and deny it to these revolutionizing crises.

We might go a step farther and argue that in point of fact we are all in a constant state of regeneration, and so remove once and for all the artificial distinction between regeneration and sanctification. But the term regeneration arose as a very natural attempt to interpret epochal religious experiences. There are such. They are of high importance. They ought to be better understood. The term may well remain therefore as an expression for these crises of the spirit.

But epochal religious experiences are by no means all of the same type. It is the vice of a certain kind of theology that it is forever seeking an impossible simplicity by reducing religious experiences to a very few types. We often hear of two kinds of conversion—sudden and gradual. But the crises of the spirit are of many kinds. And we are greatly in need of a much more thorough

investigation of these experiences than has yet been made. So far investigations have been largely directed to what may justly be called pathological cases. And very much is to be learned from such studies. But there are epochal religious experiences in the normal life, and they ought to be better understood. For our present purpose, and simply to indicate the general nature of the problem, it may be useful to discuss several historical examples of typical religious experiences, well understanding that there are many varieties of each, and that there are very likely other types quite distinct. Let us consider (1) the experience of the boy Jesus in the Temple, the adolescent blossoming; (2) that of Bunyan in his conversion, the adolescent struggling; (3) that of Isaiah in his vision, the adolescent self-devoting; (4) that of Augustine in his conversion, the sensualist awakening; (5) that of Jerry Macauley in his many conversions, the victim gaining hope, and (6) that of Paul at Damascus, the seeker finding light. The first and third of these have not usually been regarded as regenerations, but they were certainly epochal crises of the spirit.

The psychological truth of that charming story of the boy who has just realized that his place is in his Father's house is immediately evident. Hofman's picture portrays a regeneration. It is not a passing from death to life, but it is the breaking of the bud into flower. It is one of those flashes of self-consciousness that are so significant of the young adolescent. There is a certain break from the accustomed home restraint. There is vision of a larger world. There is a new thought of God. He is "my Father." Why was Mary so surprised? There is nothing especially surprising in the mere words. It was the tone, the new note of religious meaning. She who had borne the boy finds him born again. Such epochal religious experiences we are coming to understand as part of that whole newness of life which the great changes of puberty inaugurate. There is undoubtedly a new birth in the early teens. And it is then most naturally that the objective religion of childhood, given by authority and accepted as part of the system of things, becomes the personal possession of the youth. Normally there would never be a real break with the past such as the term conversion implies. Edward Everett Hale said that he

had always been a Christian. The blossoming had been so simple, that no moment seemed set off as any more significant than any other. But the psychological study of adolescence would indicate that there may often be a religious awakening altogether normal and healthy, with greater or less emotional quality.

But two causes often make this awakening more tumultuous. The one is the personal sense of failure or wrong-doing and the other is the theological dogma of depravity. When these unite the emotional disturbance may be profound. Perhaps the case of Bunyan is typical of the pathology of youthful regeneration. On the basis of his confessions it would seem that he was a hardened sinner, profligate, blasphemous, godless. In reality he seems to have been a very ordinary careless youth, guilty of some indiscretions, in great need of a kind and healthy friendship which he did not find. Driven in upon himself, his own sense of ill-desert heightened by the dogmatic teachings of natural depravity, his fears kindled by the awful prospect of eternal punishment, it is natural that he should exhibit the excesses so common to the emotional instability of that period of youth. And when the way of escape was seen, and he caught at the glorious hope of forgiveness and freedom, a regeneration was wonderfully apparent. The great experience of safety after shipwreck has often seemed such a worthy manifestation of regeneration that the church has made much of her converted Bunyans. But it is not a healthy experience for youth. It involves an emotional expenditure in the highest degree wasteful. It often results in a distorted idea of the nature of sin and salvation, and in an introspective and even morbid type of religion. A rational psychological study of the experience reveals at once its pathological character. Bunyan ought to have had some goodly counsel about the foolishness of swearing, some help toward making a worthy use of his Sundays, some good teaching about God's faith in him, some ideals set before him of the glory of a pure manhood, and especially some healthy leadership into service for others. He would have had his struggles, but would have been saved from the Slough of Despond, which is no place for sturdy boys.

The real religious awakening is often vocational. The youth is

reborn when he finds his mission. The wonderful bit of autobiography in the vision of Isaiah reveals one of the most significant types of the crises that determine our lives. The son of the privileged class has a vision of social injustice. The patriot sees that his nation is on the wrong course, is destined to terrible suffering, and must be summoned to righteousness. The youth who has grown up in the conventional religious life suddenly realizes what God is, and what godliness implies. Selfish ambition, national and personal self-complacency crumble into dust. The sense of unworthiness is overwhelming. The longing to be worthy is born. Out of the tumultuous feeling comes the peace of unity with the new-found ideals. Then issues self-devotion. So the prophets of great enterprises are born. It always is a new birth. The church would follow psychological law to her untold advantage if she would use this opportunity of vocational awakening with all its altruistic possibilities in place of the individualistic appeals of current evangelism.

In Augustine we have a different experience. It is not the careless youth of Bunyan but a real sensuality. A keen spirit deliberately seeks the pleasure of sense in its most fascinating forms. Yet a real man cannot be satisfied with pleasure, and so there is a sense of strain and discord. The eager student seeks to overcome this discord by finding a philosophy that will give him a harmony by assigning to the sense-loving flesh and to the aspiring spirit each its separate place. But the longed-for unity is not found. Ever before him is the Christian ideal of purity and love incarnate in his mother. At last he sees it in virile form in the great bishop of Milan. The tension becomes unendurable. It is the acceptance of the philosophy of Christianity, it is the break with the life of self-indulgence, it is the achievement of the peace which the Christians experience—these only can give him satisfaction. Psychologically it is the direction of attention to this way toward harmony that makes Augustine a new man. The sensualist sees a better delight, the philosopher sees a more rational system, the distracted spirit finds a way to harmonize all experience. So Zacchaeus, when his attention was held by the friendship of Jesus, found suddenly a new and powerful stimulus. He saw that charity was better than riches and justice than fraud.

This is the type of regeneration that the church has best understood. Paul discusses it with great fulness in his epistles. It is that about which it is easiest to preach. It affords fine opportunity for startling contrasts. The difficulty is, however, that men of the Augustine type are very seldom in congregations. And the effect of preaching to Augustines, when the congregation is composed of conventionally selfish men and women, is the loss of the sense of religious reality.

Jerry Macauley is naturally the type of the victim of vice finding a way of escape. He is not the sensualist delighting in his self-indulgence, calculating how it may be enhanced, and seeking to justify his course and thus secure a sense of harmony. He is the wretch whose dire habits have become so set that action has almost ceased to be voluntary. Psychologically, one would say that he has responded so persistently to certain stimuli that the power of inhibition is lost. Response follows stimulus almost without coming into consciousness at all. Professor James has of course given us the classic discussion of the psychology of regeneration as concerns this pathological type. A new idea presented so powerfully to the mind as to occupy attention acts as an inhibition even upon the responses that have become so nearly involuntary. Religion with its tremendous emotional quality may have this effect. The man thinks himself worthless: he learns that God loves him with an everlasting love and believes in him. He believes his habit is invincible: he learns that infinite power will supplement his will to break the habit. He is afraid that his case is hopeless; he learns of thousands who have been saved from worse plight than his. All this fills his mind. Prayer, song, religious occupation and companionship become powerfully attractive. Under the great emotion a kind of paralysis cuts off the old stimuli. New habits are rapidly formed. With every new interest the power to inhibit response to the old stimuli increases. The man is born again. Repeated falls and repeated conversions as in the case of Jerry Macauley mean only that for a moment the occupation of attention was inadequate, the long-accustomed response to stimulus recurred, only to be overcome again by the more powerful stimulus of religious interest. The

psychological justification of the emotional revival lies in the opportunity thus afforded for the powerful occupation of attention. The danger of excesses is of course very great.

Finally, there is the case of Paul, which is often quite inadequately interpreted by those who talk of Pauline experiences. It was essentially an intellectual regeneration, of course, with profound moral consequences. Paul's sense of disharmony grew out of the conflict between the facts of his moral experience and the traditional creed of his church. It was not the regeneration of a self-righteous Pharisee essentially, certainly not that of a great sinner, still less that of a hypocrite. It was the regeneration of a man who having been brought up to accept his religion as sacramentally bestowed, confirmed by adherence to traditional orthodoxy, and worked out by prescriptive rule, suddenly finds that it may be a personal experience. Stephen rejoices in a sense of spiritual freedom that Paul does not know. He ought to know it for he has fulfilled all the prescribed conditions. As Paul puts the problem to himself it would be: If the Christians were right their experience would be understandable; if Jesus were alive after death he would have won the great victory, he would be the Christ, and moral freedom would be found in discipleship to him. It was a stupendous hypothesis. Its consideration caused the profoundest emotional disturbance. The longing for a resolution of the doubt became agonizing. Only the vision of the living Christ could bring the desired harmony. So we have the psychological conditions for the vision. And peace results from throwing overboard the whole mass, or at least the greater part, of the traditional theology, and reconstructing a system with the facts of religious experience as basal. That was the experience of John Wesley. It was the experience of Gladstone who began life with "a profound disbelief in the value of liberty." It is the kind of regeneration that ought to be far more common than it is. It need not be so painful or so critical as Paul's. But our young men and women, whose religion consists in a more or less earnest acceptance of traditional dogmas, ought to be born again into the vital religious experience which comes from the discovery of the grounds of religious authority and the real nature of religious obligation. If

they are not so born again they are likely to develop as Pharisees, or to join that large number who give a sort of careless adhesion to a religion which they have never experienced.

The emotional quality of all these experiences is their significant characteristic. Psychologically, in every case of regeneration there is an emotional release in connection with the response to a new and powerful stimulus. Religious faith joyfully declares that the stimulus is from the Divine Spirit, that "it is God that worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure." Theology therefore very properly discusses regeneration from the point of view of the action of the Divine Spirit upon the human spirit. But our present task is to keep within the field of psychology, interpreting the experiences only from the data of human consciousness. There is great value in this, for it enables us to keep clearly distinct what we know scientifically and what we believe religiously. There is a larger unity which includes both, but includes them without confusing them.

From the foregoing discussion certain conclusions would seem to be justified. First, a normal religious development is not necessarily an even and uneventful development. It may have its awakenings to truth and duty—moments which outweigh whole years. These may be veritable regenerations, often vocational, sometimes intellectual. The crisis may be more or less momentous, depending upon many conditions.

Secondly, and very certainly, these crises are not necessarily the initiation of the religious life. In a normal religious development there may be no sharply defined beginning of religious experience. But there may be flashes of religious insight. The religious child may some day find religion a new possession to him. There may be recurrent emotional crises in early adolescence in connection with repentance for wrongdoing or realization of a sense of mission. Such regenerations do not imply a previous unregenerate state. Jesus was a religious child before he was twelve years old, Isaiah was probably a devout youth, Paul was certainly, like Wesley, of the sincerest piety from his earliest years. He never speaks of his conversion as the beginning of a godly life, but as a revelation of the way of salvation.

Thirdly, these crises are likely to be more intense according to the extent to which the new channels of thought or conduct have to break through long-established habits. A wise religious education will secure such constant intellectual and moral readjustment as to minimize the necessity of violent reconstructions. At the same time, when it is evident that habitual responses to certain stimuli have led to erroneous thinking or unworthy conduct, the essential character of the reformatory process will be evident. A powerful preoccupation of attention must by all means be secured. A Bunyan must find a healthy, virile Christian friend who will lead him by a sheer capture of his loyalty into a happy Christian activity. A Zacchaeus must find a pure, strong man who believes in him and believes in the attractiveness of the social impulse, and knows how to make it alluring even to an unscrupulous tariff official.

And fourthly, the emotional element in the experience is not to be sought for itself. It is never to be superinduced. Religious education does not undertake to bring about emotional crises. Its task is the cultivation of appreciation of duty, the formation of right habits by right doing, the stimulus to the understanding of truth by exemplifying the significance of truth. The love of God, the love of men, visions of duty, apprehensions of truth, self-devotions—these shall come in the gradual process of spiritual development or in great leaps of spiritual attainment. We cannot decide how it shall be. Many conditions of environment and temperament may determine. Only we shall not try to promote crises of the spirit as such. We shall only seek to understand them, and then to help our friends to right adjustment in their newborn life.



## “THIS MAN CONIAH”

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“Is this man Coniah a despised broken figure? is he a vessel wherein none delighteth? wherefore are they cast out, he and his seed, and are cast into the land which they know not?” These words of Jeremiah (Jer. 22:28), full of puzzle and pity, betoken that the event which he himself has predicted and justified has got beyond his power to explain. It is decreed, he has said, that Israel must pass under the ravaging scourge of Babylon; and now matters have gone so far toward that event that though Coniah, Israel’s anointed king, were the signet on Jehovah’s right hand he would be plucked thence. It is all turning out as the prophet has warned and as Jehovah has willed. The God of Israel is not wont to do things without meaning and purpose. And yet—why this mystery of shame and banishment? What can it all mean? Jeremiah can see only the next step in the enigma of his people’s history; not yet its solution.

Let us look at this man Coniah, otherwise called Jeconiah (Jer. 24:1) and Jehoiachin (II Kings 24:6), and at some matters of history and prophecy that come in his time. In doing so, we have no argument to adduce; only a story to trace.

Jehoiachin, grandson of the good King Josiah, a youth of eighteen, had been king of Judah only three months when Nebuchadnezzar, whose servants were besieging Jerusalem, appeared in person before its gates. His brief story, told in nine verses (II Kings 24:8-16), has a weight far beyond its length, for it was under him that the first and most important deportation of Judah took place. He did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, the historian says; but surely, in the harassments of a siege, the time was short for him to become hardened in administrative iniquity. The hapless man was reaping the harvest of other men’s sowing. It was the unpardonable evil of his ancestor Manasseh’s sin, in the judgment of

the historian, that he and his realm were expiating (II Kings 24:3, 4); and his father Jehoiakim by his cruel tyranny and covetousness, had precipitated the stroke (Jer. 22:13-19). Jehoiachin's personal fault, it would seem, lay in his ignominious surrender, so galling to a nation's pride. That is to say, he did without battle and bloodshed what the prophet had virtually said must be done, and what his successor Zedekiah was by the same prophet's counsel advised to do. Accepting the inevitable, he "went out" to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers. With him, like a transplanted colony, went all the best elements of the nation, from princes and mighty men of valor to craftsmen and smiths, all the elements that go to make a sterling citizenry; and none were left save the poorest sort of the people of the land.

This event, which occurred 597 B.C., was the real beginning of the Chaldean exile, the *initium* from which we are to gauge its avails and meaning, unless indeed we date it six years earlier when, according to the writer of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar had in training certain hostages of the seed royal and of the nobles for some responsible service in his court and capital (Dan. 1:3). It was at this latter date, 604, it seems, that the seventy years began which were to be accomplished alike for Israel and Babylon (Jer. 25:1, 12; 29:10); for by prophetic evaluation this era of captivity was destined to be momentous for both nations.

Arrived in Babylonia the captives, apparently without the infliction of special indignities, were distributed to their allotted places. The body of them were taken to Tel-Abib near Nippur, about fifty miles from Babylon, on the great irrigating canal Chebar; where as a community they could make a home, cultivate their fields, adapt their old customs to new conditions, and become citizens of this strange crowded land. Jehoiachin the king, in Babylon, became the royal prisoner of Judah; and we lose sight of him for thirty-seven years.

Let us now run over the situation of things during the years that ensued. For eleven years there was virtually a double Judean commonwealth, one division in Chaldea and one in Jerusalem. Each had its king: the one the legitimate, anointed king, who however was in

a prison, without court or revenues or authority, a vessel in whom none delighted; the other a substitute king, or viceroy, who, placed on the Davidic throne by the king of Babylon, had sworn loyalty to him, and was on a parole of good behavior. Each division had its resident spiritual leader, whose watchful care was both over those with whom he dwelt and over his far-away brethren. Jeremiah, a man of priestly family who felt his call to be over kingdoms and nations to uproot and to plant (Jer. 1:10), was in Jerusalem counseling steady fealty there, and writing to his exiled compatriots to make homes and be well-disposed citizens where they were (Jer. 29:4-7). Ezekiel, a priest who instead of tending an altar had become a sort of pastor and watchman, was at Tel-Abib, trying to keep his neighbors from "setting up idols in their hearts" (Ezek. 14:3-5) and sending sharp reproof to the rebels in Jerusalem for their faithlessness to their sworn covenant with Babylon (Ezek. 17:12-16). Both were working all along the line for stability, fealty, peace; were concerned to give Jehovah a good name among their heathen masters. But it was turning out as Jeremiah had judged them when the captivity first began. He had compared the two divisions abroad and at home to good and bad figs, the good ones first-ripe and toothsome, the bad ones dead ripe and rotten (Jer. chap. 24). The good element here in Babylonia, who like their king Jehoiachin had bowed their necks to Jehovah's imposed yoke of banishment, were making the best of it, witnesses to the sterling worth of character which their education in Jehovah's ways had engendered. The dubious element left at home had ceased to be true representatives of their God. Their frantic patriotism could not save them, even on Jehovah's chosen soil, if they played fast and loose with their sworn word. And it was like people like king. When, after a reign of intrigue and shilly-shally ending in the extreme horrors of siege and fire and blood, Zedekiah was caught trying by flight to desert his people, he could not be dealt with on terms of clemency; his house and court were stamped out like vermin, and he, allowed his eyesight only long enough to see his sons slain, was blinded and carried to Babylon. His people were dispersed, some to Egypt, some scattered among the neighbor nations, some, a sorry company, to Babylon. They had had their chance of peace and honorable

welfare right at home, and had spurned it. So now, after 586, the two elements, what was left of them, were together again in a foreign land, flowing on together like the Rhone and the Arve. What shall be the sequel of Israel's transplanted history? Shall it run muddy or run clear? And for the sake of which strain of character shall mercy and uplifting be vouchsafed, when the time of deliverance comes?

Some such questioning as this—a leash of questions indeed—rises to mind when we consider the next event in the story we are tracing. It appears that through their long, slow years of expatriation the people of Israel still had a king, albeit a king shut up in prison, as they themselves—like king like people—were “swallowed up” (Jer. 51:34) in the welter of a huge empire; and it was not Zedekiah. For thirty-seven years Jehoiachin was in durance, apparently in one of those Oriental places for state prisoners so usually attached to the royal palace. Here for a whole generation royalty was buried and forgotten. Of the hardships and indignities he endured, of the men of royal blood that were incarcerated with him, and of the way he spent his time, we know nothing; but we can imagine—or rather perhaps cannot fully imagine—what it is to have a whole generation of subjects' fate and the world's affairs slip by and bring no share or news to his ears. Byron has helped us imagine Bonnivard's six years in the dungeon of Chillon; here is a term six times as long which has never found its poet. But that Jehoiachin is a king still, perhaps essentially every inch a king, appears from the twice-recorded fact that at the end of thirty-seven years he is once more honored as a king (II Kings 25: 27-30; Jer. 52:31-34). The event has been passed by as a casual incident; has its meaning been adequately explored? In the year 562 Nebuchadnezzar, with whom the glory of the Chaldean empire culminated, died leaving a realm of splendor and peace and industry. His son and successor Evil-Merodach, if he inherited some unfinished business from the father's administration, disposed of it very differently from the way in which King Solomon had settled up his father David's affairs (cf. I Kings 2). The times had grown milder and more humane; or else some honor-generating cause was at work under the surface of things. Can it be that this Jewish king

has all along been a kind of hostage for the good behavior of his people, or on the other hand that their condition has profited by his wise conduct? At any rate, in Evil-Merodach's first year Jehoiachin was brought out of his prison, divested of his prison garments, set above all the other kings who were in like case with him, and thenceforth to the day of his death ate in the king's presence from the king's maintenance. It is a remarkable distinction, when one thinks of it, for the king of so insignificant a nation to have earned. And it provokes inquiry not only for the cause, but for the sequel. When and how he died we do not know; but if after this event he lived until Cyrus set foot on Babylonian soil and the Hebrews began to see deliverance ahead, he would still be only seventy years old.

I said a little while ago that this royal captive's experience had never found its poet. I must recall that statement, or at least hold it an open question. It was not many years after his restoration to honor, perhaps while he was still living a king with kings, before the tramp of Cyrus' armies began to be heard over the hills, and Hebrew ears were quick—the quickest—to detect therein the mighty pulse-beat of empire (cf. Isa. 41:25-27). A prophetic mind, touched to keenness by the educated sense of Jehovah's purpose, forthwith broke into a strain of the sublimest poetry the world has ever read. To him this coming of Cyrus was not merely one more added to the world's monotonous list of predatory raids great or small; it meant that the center of gravity of world-empire was changing, and things were shaping themselves into a forward movement toward the kingdom of heaven. Nor was his the only mind awake to the signs of the times. Daniel, as his compatriots at Tel-Abib already knew, had been telling Nebuchadnezzar strange secrets of the future (Ezek. 28:3); and Nebuchadnezzar had died with the prophetic knowledge thus gained. It remained only for an authoritative seer to identify the immediate signs, and to tell his people what to do and be in pursuance of them. That seer, already on the ground, awake and aware, was the great unknown poet whom we call the second Isaiah.

Over all the glowing words of this second Isaiah is spread the prophet's sense that they are written in a tremendously momentous

time. Cyrus is coming, whose right hand Jehovah has holden, whose way to empire Jehovah will make straight for Jacob his servant's sake (Isa. 45:1-7, 13). The time long foreseen, declared from long ago, is at last here. And if we take the prophet's counsels at their face value, no word can so well name their message to Israel as the word "opportunity." Israel, so long swallowed up and sequestered that they are deeming their way hidden from Jehovah (Isa. 40:27), is called forth to a commanding mission, and it is for them to seize the occasion. They are his chosen agency for great things, for a conquest more real and vital than that of Cyrus. To set this forth a title is given them: my servant, the Servant of Jehovah; as his Servant they are to be his witnesses and representatives (Isa. 43:10). The most striking figure of this whole body of prophecy is this Servant of Jehovah, his powers and duties many times recurring. Sometimes he is spoken to, sometimes spoken of, sometimes himself speaks, until the sense of his presence pervades the poem. Sometimes, too, he seems to be here with Israel as a contemporary though never visible person; sometimes he speaks or is spoken of by way of reminiscence.

But the most remarkable thing about this Servant of Jehovah is that he is portrayed, or portrays himself, as both collective and individual. He is the community; he is a person; both clearly defined. You can transfer his various traits and duties from an individualized personage and back again, as if one were an analogy for the other, or as if both belonged to one undissociated solidarity. It is as if, now that their state and its royalty were no more, the people were learning, as it were, to be their own king, and yet as if all the while somewhere at the heart of the nation were a real personage, pattern of life and captain of their campaign, with all the essentials of kingliness upon him, kingliness reduced as it were to ideal terms. They are to walk and work in his influence. One is reminded of that state of things portrayed by Isaiah, the son of Amoz (Isa. 32:1-8), wherein a man is the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, and in his spirit princes rule righteously, and things are seen as they are and called by their right names,

And all about a healthful people step  
As in the presence of a gracious king.

The traits of this individualized Servant, entirely homogeneous with each other, resolve into a new ideal of personal nobility and power. Those traits are all of the gentle, unassuming, sympathetic sort, as of one with Jehovah's spirit upon him, fulfilling his allotted mission without noise or display, helpful, loving, uplifting, yet never failing or discouraged till he have set justice in the earth (Isa. 42:1-4). A wonderful model this for a people long subdued and captive, whose conquest, if it ever is made, can never more come by worldly dominance and military glory. It must be spiritual. Yet the elements of strength are not lacking either, or the assurance of victory, even on these hidden lines. A central strain of prophecy, in fact, is focused here, revealing through people and person alike how momentous is the issue as well for Babylon, as for Israel. The daughter of Babylon, Jeremiah has said, is like a threshing-floor at the time when it is trodden (Jer. 51:33); and Micah, long ago foreseeing this day, has said, "Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion" (Mic. 4:13). So now, addressing the Servant-nation, this new prophet is calling them a new sharp threshing instrument ready to separate and winnow (Isa. 41:15); while on his part the individualized servant is saying that Jehovah has made his mouth like a sharp sword (Isa. 49:2), and himself a polished shaft, ready to prevail in this new warfare. It is as if the first Isaiah's prophecy of the scion of Jesse, who should smite the earth with the rod of his mouth (Isa. 11:4), were at last coming true. There is power and trenchancy here as well as passive gentleness, and people and person are not dissociated. Thus strangely again the mission of the Servant, conceived alike as collective and individual, is one united activity, like the work of hands and head.

Scarcely less remarkable than this solidarity of community and individual is the prevalence of terms and conditions drawn from the idea of prison and blindness and release. The captivity itself was a kind of prison existence, and the community felt it so, when they began to deem their way hid from Jehovah (Isa. 40:27). A part of their communal mission, too, was "saying to them that are bound, Go forth, and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves" (Isa. 49:9). This in itself might perhaps be read as a conventional figure of the prophetic vocabulary. But there is a peculiar touch

here. When in the crowd of his imagery the prophet keeps saying, "I will bring the blind by a way that they know not" (Isa. 42:16); "Hear, ye deaf, and look, ye blind, that ye may see; Who is blind but my servant? or deaf as my messenger that I send? who is blind as he that is at peace with me (Cheyne translates "as the surrendered one"), and blind as Jehovah's servant? Thou seest many things, but thou observest not; his ears are open, but he heareth not" (Isa. 42:18-20); and when a little later he says, "Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears" (Isa. 43:8)—the insistent figure seems to be a means of identifying an individual's experience with that of a community. It is as if the prophet were thinking of one brought forth blinking and dazed from the gloom and silence of a dungeon to the diffused light of day and the long unheard voices of men. One recalls Macaulay's description: "When a prisoner first leaves his cell he cannot bear the light of day: he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces." Nor are prison indignities and the steadfastness that endured them ignored; but here the reminiscence becomes sharply individual as the Servant himself speaks: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting; for the Lord Jehovah will help me; therefore have I not been confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be put to shame" (Isa. 50:6, 7). Nor less remarkable is the deep spiritual value that he has gained from this prison experience: "The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of them that are taught, that I may know how to sustain with words him that is weary; he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught. The Lord Jehovah hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward" (Isa. 50:4, 5). Here seems to speak the one already described, "my Servant whom I uphold," who will not fail nor be discouraged; the same on whom Jehovah, turning from personal description to direct address, had laid the mission "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house" (Isa. 42:7). And when finally, taught sympathy for all needs of



men, the servant, now identified with the nation, recounts what he is anointed to do, one element is "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound" (Isa. 61:1). Whence this plethora of figures drawn from one vividly realized experience? Such prison echoes as these could hardly have come from the comfortable homes by the Chebar, or from such elders of Israel as Ezekiel warned and counseled.

We have considered the Servant's personal reminiscences, and the coinage of them into spiritual values for Israel and the world. But the prophet, too, has his memories of the Servant, memories which only actual living fact could have made believable. Stamped on his inner vision is the memory of an Object which, while it inspired him beyond measure, also tore his heart with pity and poignant contrition. It was an Object to startle nations and shut the mouths of kings, "his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men" (Isa. 52:14). The moment so vividly recalled seems to have been when the Personage he is describing was "taken from prison and judgment" (Isa. 53:8). It is as if the prophet were there, startled and astonished, when the prison door opened, and a king, haggard and feeble, came forth from his long ordeal of darkness and suffering. Every line of that face and form was engraved on his pitying heart. But the climax of wonder and awe was reached when he realized the meaning of it all. In telling it (Isa., chap. 53) the prophet speaks no more as a counselor and teacher; he identifies himself with the nation, saying "we" and "our"; he has shared with the rest in a shameful desertion and despite; he is a partaker with the rest in the marvelous avails. That despised broken figure, he says, was all the while suffering for us. The chastisement of our peace was upon him; with his stripes we are healed. We had all gone our heedless way, like straying sheep, while he, like a lamb led to slaughter and a sheep before its shearers, was silently and patiently bearing the iniquity of us all, the stroke due to us. We should never have known it, perhaps, and he, cut off out of the land of the living, would have died where so long he had suffered, if a strange event had not brought the whole situation to light.

Bear in mind that the prophet is speaking of a man whose marred

visage and wasted form have astonished him; the man who himself has described his prison indignities and their chastening effects; the man whom Jehovah has pointed out as the Servant whom he upholds. How did all this come to the prophet's knowledge? How, unless succeeding the prison ordeal, there was a release and a restoration to some degree of intercourse with men? It is to this event of release that the prophet seems to refer in saying, "He was taken from durance and judgment";<sup>1</sup> a statement from which he goes on to ask, "who shall declare (or rather, meditate) his generation?" as if a whole generation of the world's ongoings had either been blotted out of his life or packed with untold meanings. From this point the tense changes from past to future, as if there were indeed a rewarded future to reckon with. It cannot quite be made out whether this Personage is dead, though they have made (given, or appointed) his grave with the wicked and the rich; for the account goes on to say he shall see his seed and prolong his days, shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, Jehovah will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong. By the knowledge he has gained (for this cf. Isa. 50:4, 5) his wonderful work of justifying many and bearing iniquity will go on, as it has done in the past; and thus it seems that by pouring out his soul to death he will have gained more than could have been gained by resistance and war.

I have here traced two things, a story and a comment. On the one side, the story of this man Coniah, who, because he surrendered instead of fighting, went to Babylon a despised, broken figure, a vessel wherein none delighted; yet who, after thirty-seven years in prison, was so honored by his heathen captors, whether for his own worth or that of his people or both, that he was released, and set high in royalty, and lived till his death a king among kings. On the other side, a comment, written as nearly as we can make out soon after the release of Coniah, describing a Personage whose whole life might be characterized by the words surrender and sacrifice; yet who, by some hard experience, apparently a prison experience, coined his hidden life into strength and

<sup>1</sup> Here the Authorized Version is superior to the Revised; it is not so sophisticated with a bewildered subjectivism but that it can translate a simple sentence literally.

knowledge and uttermost faith and sympathy for all oppressed. The prophet, after all, has done something to "declare his generation."

Here I leave them. I have no argument to adduce. Whether the two may be put together is the reader's affair. Two and two, the mathematicians tell us, make four. They do not make more than that; but neither do they make less.



## THE DEMONIAK AND THE RETURNING DEMON

AN EXPOSITION OF MATT. 12:43-45; LUKE 11:23-26

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But the unclean spirit, when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and findeth it not. Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation. (Matt. 12:43-45.)

He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth. The unclean spirit when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and finding none, he saith, I will turn back unto my house whence I came out. And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other spirits more evil than himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first. (Lk. 11:23-26.)

### DEMONOLOGY IN GENERAL

It is a sound principle of interpretation that we must consider a passage or doctrine or custom in connection with the thought-world of the time. The world of our Lord's day has been wonderfully reconstructed, and thereby a flood of light has been thrown upon the pages of the New Testament.

In the present instance of demon-possession we may profitably extend our view beyond Palestine and beyond the ancient world, for the phenomena appear to present an essential similarity everywhere and in all times. In ancient times and among savage and semi-civilized peoples belief in demons is all but universal. This is true even of peoples who have attained some degree of culture. Any event happening by some unseen agency may be ascribed to them. An American Indian falling into the fire will say that an angry ancestral spirit pushed him in. Favorable events are due to the intervention of a kindly spirit; we civilized people call it "luck." In Christian nomenclature good spirits are called good angels,

and the name of demon is reserved for an evil spirit. The deserts of Arabia are peopled with *jinn*, and the genii of the Babylonians were lurking everywhere. Our knowledge on this subject is continually being augmented by travelers, missionaries, and investigators. Demon-ideas crop out in our civilized life. The connection of nightmare with demon-influence among our ancestors is shown by the name (in Anglo-Saxon *maer* means spirit), and such we know to be the case among savage Australians.

But the chief function ascribed to demons is in connection with disease. When a man is the victim of hysteria, epilepsy, or madness it appears as though his body were possessed by another being. Likewise diseases with pain or wasting away must be due to unseen demons. The Babylonians thought that disease was caused by inhaling or swallowing stray demons, just as we ascribe it to microbes or bacteria.

The demons are expelled in various ways. They are addressed with entreaties or threats, enticed out with food-offerings, or driven away with noises and blows. The regular means of cure is exorcism or banishment. The Antilles Indian pulls the disease off the patient and blows it away. The Patagonian beats a drum at the head of the bed of the sick person to drive the devil away. In Siam the natives hunt the demons out of the houses, and drive them through the streets by cannon-shots outside of the walls into the woods. In Africa there are placed along the road leading to the sea puppets, into which the demons are enticed, and in the dead of night the negroes make a sudden rush on them with whips and torches in the effort to drive them into the sea. The exorcists of India and China expel malignant demons from patients afflicted with fever, dizziness, frenzy, and so on. Especially are these phenomena common in Korea, where demons play a large part in the common religious conceptions.

#### DEMONOLOGY IN JUDAISM

Jewish demonology took shape under Assyro-Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, and Greek influences. In general characteristics it does not differ from that of other peoples. The New Testament bears witness to the large place of demonology in contempo-

rary Judaism. Note, for example, how large a part of the Gospel of Mark is taken up with references to demoniacal possession. Possession takes the form both of physical and moral disorder; it was recognized in dumbness, epilepsy, blindness, especially savage fierceness, convulsions, and paroxysms; but there were also lying and deceiving spirits, which brought about moral excesses. In the passages before us the demons appear to take their abode in a man without his choice; they enter and go out at will. In other passages the person declares the name of the demon who has possessed him, and answers for the demon when addressed. It is not difficult to recognize the symptoms of hysteria, lunacy, and so on, and of course a modern practitioner would have reported these events in different language from that of the gospels.

Unclean spirits frequented ruins; in Apoc. 18:2 fallen Babylon is said to have become "a habitation of demons and a hold of every unclean spirit." They were found among tombs and in mountainous regions (Mark 5:5), and in the waterless desert—

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades. (Milton.)

Not to be in possession of a human being was disagreeable to the demon. There is a curious story in the Book of Tobit. A demon was in love with Edna, and brought about the death of seven men to whom she had been given as a bride. Tobias was warned by an angel to take ashes of incense and lay upon them some of the heart and liver of a fish and make a smoke within the bride-chamber to drive away the demon. He did so, and the demon smelled the smell, and fled into the uppermost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.

#### OUR LORD'S ATTITUDE

Did our Lord believe in the existence and activity of demons? Maladies that we attribute to other causes did he ascribe to demon-possession? This is simply a question as to whether he was familiar with the modern science of medicine, or whether he shared the unscientific views of his age. To be sure, in the classical period of Greece and Rome better knowledge of medicine was beginning to encroach on the ancient and popular belief, but madness was still demoniacal possession and a fit was an attack of a demon

(ἐπιληψίς, seizure, epilepsy). It would be puerile to suppose that what is now due to germs and a disordered nervous system was then due to demons. It has been seriously held that our Lord merely accommodated himself to prevailing conceptions in a pedagogical interest. There is nothing in the records to suggest that he did not share the common belief. The theory of accommodation springs from a reluctance to recognize any such limitation upon our Lord's knowledge. Such a view of his person is more nearly represented in the apocryphal gospels than in the canonical records, as when the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy relates that the Lord Jesus, among the doctors, discoursed on astronomy, physics, and metaphysics, expounding "things which the reason of man had never discovered." Yet in spite of the impressive reserve of our canonical gospels the tendency to protect the Lord from human limitations had already set in, as is especially notable in the gospels of Matthew and John. The explanation of such cases commonly given in our day, based upon a distinction between the humanity and the divinity of the Lord, is simply psychologically unintelligible.

But the striking fact is the ethical use that our Lord made of this phenomenon. The sobriety which marks the stories of the canonical gospels is in contrast with the unsavoriness often connected with such narratives. It must be conceded that the grotesque does appear somewhat in the story of the swine. But the alleviation of human suffering is always the motive with Jesus, and not the exhibition of power and wonder-working. The parallel passages that we are studying set forth a parable in which Jesus makes use of the common belief in demoniacal possession.

#### THE LUKAN PASSAGE

Let us first examine the passage in Luke. The mention of "the unclean spirit" instead of "the demon" suggests that this parable may have been part of another discourse than that in which it appears. But this does not preclude its being taken with vs. 23. A man<sup>1</sup> is possessed by an unclean spirit. The man appears passive; it is not said whether he gave a favorable reception to

<sup>1</sup> "The man"—what man? Obviously, the man of the parable. If there was a more specific allusion, the original connection has not been preserved.

the unclean spirit. We know only what he suffered from the demon. The demon goes out of the man. It is not said that he was driven out, though such is probably intended, the same expression being used of Mary Magdalene, "from whom seven demons had gone out" (Luke 8:2). The demon has been spoiled by his sojourn within the man and, failing to find rest elsewhere, he determines to resume his former habitation. Upon his return he finds his house swept and adorned. Being set in order it offered more opportunity for destruction. He goes, therefore, and secures the co-operation of seven other spirits more evil than himself. They enter in and settle there. They may have been secured for assistance in destructive work, possibly for companionship. The unclean spirit who took the initiative may have wished further security against another expulsion. The number seven suggests complete wickedness, but it is perhaps merely set over against the one; in all there were eight. Then the latter state of the man became worse than the former. We have in this account no key to the interpretation unless we find it in vs. 23, to which we shall return in the final paragraph of this article.

#### THE MATTHAEAN PASSAGE

Let us now examine the account in Matthew. It is almost word for word the same, but stands in a different part of the discourse. The more agreeable diffuseness of style which is in general characteristic of Luke suggests that in the verbal differences here Matthew has more accurately preserved the language of the source. Furthermore, Matthew gives us an interpretation: "So shall it be also to this evil generation." The comment is Matthew's own, and probably does not go back to Jesus. As a demonized man who was temporarily freed from demon-possession was irretrievably taken again, so shall it be to this generation if it does not repent and hearken to the word of Jesus. The verses immediately preceding pronounce judgment upon "this generation" for not hearing the preaching of one "greater than Solomon." This application to the Jewish nation does not appear much more tenable than Matthew's understanding of Jesus' reference to "the sign of Jonah the prophet" in the verses preceding. Where does the temporary



freedom from possession find analogy in Israel? Even recent interpreters tell us in this connection that idolatry had been expelled by the experience of the exile, but its place was taken by letter-worship, legalism, formalism, and an exclusive spirit. But the historical student will not readily believe that Jesus had this in mind. Hardly more probable is a reference to the rather superficial turning of the Jewish people to John the Baptist and to Jesus. We conclude that not only was Matthew's comment absent from the source, but that it furnishes us with no probable explanation of Jesus' meaning.

#### VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

Able commentators have taken the thought of Jesus to be that the success of Jewish exorcists was only of a temporary character and calculated to lead to an aggravation of the evil. In this case we must go back to Luke, vs. 19. But the parable makes no reference to the imperfect work of the exorcist in the first instance. The trouble was when the demoniac who had been really cured allowed himself to become repossessed.

The older commentators made little effort to interpret in a truly historical spirit. Their remarks are often ingenious and sometimes edifying, but seldom historical. We are told that the first disappearance of the devil from Israel was through the giving of the law, but finding no rest among the arid heathen the devil returned to the Jews, who had been cleansed by the spiritual broom of the word of God; again possessed, the Jewish nation became a synagogue of Satan. Gregory Nazianzen found in the "waterless places" a reference to the unbaptized, who are "dry of the divine stream."

We must distinguish between edifying, homiletical comments and historical interpretation. As an instance of the former, the unclean spirit has been identified with sin, and the parable is supposed to set forth "the case of a sinner who repents of his sins but makes no effort to acquire holiness." "He flees from Satan without seeking Christ, and thus falls more hopelessly into the power of Satan again." "The Holy Spirit has not been made a guest in place of the evil spirit."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Plummer in *International Critical Commentary* on Luke (1896), pp. 304, 305.

## THE PROBABLE MEANING

Plummer's comments just quoted appear to be based upon an essentially correct understanding of the parable. Everyone who does not unite with Jesus in working for the kingdom scatters his energies.<sup>3</sup> The choice is between the reign of God and the tyranny of Satan. Whether Luke saw this meaning we cannot say, but it was in the source. Luke seems to have left out a key-word from his source, given in Matthew: *σχαλίζοντα*, "standing idle, vacant." It is not enough to cast an unclean spirit out of a man; in the conflict with Satan an empty house is not sufficient. The man must be fortified against the return of the evil spirit. In terms agreeable to our Lord's own thought what is to be supplied? The kingdom of God must take possession of the man. This conclusion was probably forced upon Jesus both by cases of relapse in instances of men from whom demons had been expelled and by instances in the ethical sphere for which the parable stands. That our Lord demanded a certain abandon, an enthusiasm, and no mere negative goodness, is amply attested. This explanation<sup>4</sup> may be open to the charge of being modern, but Jesus himself is startlingly modern. It is offered only as the most probable interpretation of our Lord's own thought. The very difficulty of these passages helps to mark them as genuine fragments of a discourse of Jesus.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 11:23 need refer neither to the person who is casting out demons nor to the person out of whom the demon "is gone," but to the general truth. The parable, illustrating the general truth from the realm of demonology, follows vs. 23, and vs. 23 is not part of the parable.

<sup>4</sup> I follow the interpretation of Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II (1899), pp. 233-40, who offers more light upon the passages than any other whom I have consulted.

## A MODERN VIEW OF THE HEREAFTER

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“Non omnis moriar” wrote the Roman poet whose musing on the hereafter had confirmed his longing after immortality. Never has the thought of immortality been absent from the human mind since the dawn of recorded history. The question is as vital and insistent today as it has ever been. It would seem that immortality is one of the original, imperishable intuitions of the soul. The peoples of the Occident, no less than the peoples of the Orient, have had their imagination filled with this fascinating yet baffling subject. Poets have dreamed, prophets have taught, philosophers have reasoned, and musicians, painters, and sculptors have exercised their skill to give adequate expression to this master theme of human destiny. The very thought of the annihilation of personality when the breath leaves the body is abhorrent, whether to the Christian or the non-Christian, the saint or the sinner.

My own dim life should teach me this,  
That life shall live for evermore;  
Else earth is darkness at the core  
And dust and ashes all that is.

But every age must interpret this ineradicable hope in its own language and according to the larger knowledge it may fortunately possess.

So epochal has been the accumulation of knowledge during the past century that

Doubts to the world's child heart unknown  
Question us now from star and stone.

And while boasting is excluded because we feel that in the wider horizon of knowledge we have today we still are ignorant of so much we should like to know, nevertheless we are thankful that the eyes of our understanding have been opened to discern more of the truth of things than earlier generations were able to receive.

## MODERN ASTRONOMY

To begin with, astronomy has thrown into eclipse a host of old-time notions concerning the place of our planet in the universe. It is not the great world it was formerly thought to be. It is not the center of all created bodies attended by sun, moon, and stars for illumination and beauty. It is not the fixed, stable world, the eternal abode of the millions of humanity according to generally received ancient ideas. The stellar sphere is not a revolving shell as was once thought. As out from the quiet, sheltered, landlocked harbor the mariner guides his boat to what seems to be an illimitable ocean, so in these latter days astronomy has disclosed to our astonished view a universe vast and amazing in its extent. Stars at distances so immense and varying that light traveling at the rate of 190,000 miles a second requires three, ten, a hundred years to leap the space between them and us; stars so enormous and brilliant that, compared with them, the sun is like a match light compared with an arc light; our own sun such a globe of seething, fiery tempest that 1,000,000 bodies the size of our earth massed together are required to represent his girth and volume—these are some of the facts which astronomy submits to us to demonstrate the grandeur and majesty of the physical universe.

Provided with these facts and the legitimate inferences they sanction, it is clear that the old-time ideas of the greatness and permanence of the earth and the comparative insignificance of sun, moon, and stars must be canceled as contradictory to the truth of things.

## APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

With the cancellation of those old-time notions must go the picturesque conceptions and fancies of the underworld and the hereafter, of heaven and hell, which fill the apocalyptic books and passages of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures and find corresponding expression in Greek and Roman, Assyrian and Egyptian literature. For all of these conceptions were earth-bound and earth-centered. As in the days of Noah, the world was destroyed by a flood, a new order arose, and a fresh start was made, so, the world being overrun again by evil, there shall be an end of all things, a summary intervention by God who will consign to per-

dition the evildoers, renovate the earth, restore a lost paradise, and make the world a heavenly abode for the good. This is the chief underlying idea of apocalyptic literature. Applied to special crises, as in the Book of Daniel, which has reference to the conflict between Judaism and Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Book of Revelation, which deals with the conflict between Christianity and the Roman Empire, it sets forth the overthrow of the enemies of God's people. The end of the world as immediately pending was confidently expected by the early Christians and much of the New Testament is burdened with this expectation, the influence of which pervades the New Testament writings generally. As to the details of the world to come, according to these old-time ideas, some are found in the biblical apocalypses and some, which have greatly impressed themselves on later thought, especially the writings of Dante and Milton, are found in extra-biblical apocalypses as, e.g., the Secrets of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Peter. Among the punishments prescribed for evildoers in the underworld the Apocalypse of Peter informs us that blasphemers hang by their tongues; murderers are pitched into a fearsome gorge and bitten by reptiles; persecutors stand waist-deep in flames; the merciless rich, clad in filthy rags, are rolled about on sharp, red-hot stones; idolaters are burned—curious reminders these of the biblical descriptions of the bottomless pit and the lake of fire reserved for the devil and his angels where they are “tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever.”

On the other hand we have the apocalyptic picture of the New Jerusalem, the final abode of the good, a city that comes down from God out of heaven; a city surpassing in beauty and brilliancy the older city; a city so filled with the glory of God that the light of the sun and the moon is unnecessary; a city through which flows the river of life-giving water by the side of which grows the tree of life; a city adorned with the glory and honor of despoiled nations; a city whose inhabitants are exempt from sickness, sorrow, and death; a city whose walls are of jasper and whose gates are of pearl; a city for those who do His commandments that they may have right to the tree of life and enter in through the gates to reign

forever and ever. And, in harmony with apocalyptic vision, all this is to occur soon. The book is not to be sealed. "Behold, I come quickly." A terrestrial heaven, a subterranean hell: this is the outstanding message of apocalyptic literature. Nor could it be otherwise when we recall the earth-bound, earth-centered conception of the universe, the dominating, the only conception possible at that time.

#### PHYSICAL RESURRECTION

Concurrent with these ideas is that of physical resurrection which naturally finds its home in the same school of thought. The subterranean hell, the terrestrial heaven, the beautiful New Jerusalem are very substantial, material places—places unsuitable for the abode of flitting phantoms. Hence man is incomplete without his body, and he must have his own and that of no one else, for in some degree the body is the expression of the personality, has fitted and gloved itself to the personality, and so has become an integral part of the man.

If, as was held, all who in past generations had been loyal to the nation's religious ideals were to share in the glory of the new heavens and the new earth as well as the generation living when the Lord appeared to restore the kingdom again to Israel and establish the new Jerusalem, then it must be possible for those who had fallen asleep to recover the bodies they had surrendered at death, so that in their own bodies, glorified to harmonize with the glorified city, they might enjoy the blessedness of the glorified forevermore. Also eternal punishment was inconceivable apart from a sentient body to be tormented. Consequently, when the stupendous climax, the end of the age, came there would be a general resurrection of the identical bodies of the departed, a general judgment, and a final award. Such was the program of human destiny mapped out by the apocalyptic writers of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures—a program the details of which were inspired by the sway of a conception of the universe which astronomy today affirms was erroneous.

#### REINCARNATION

Dealing with the same problem, Hindu philosophers propounded the theory of reincarnation. Manifestly this theory is also colored

by the cosmological idea of the supreme importance of the earth common to the ancient and mediaeval periods. From the Hindus this theory passed to different peoples. Pythagoras of Greece, it is reported, claimed that in a previous incarnation he had been present at the siege of Troy. The ancient Jews also reveal traces of it in their thinking. In the gospels we read of the man born blind. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" asked the disciples, the inference from which is that if he was born blind because *he* had sinned he must have sinned in a former terrestrial life. The idea that Jesus Christ himself was a reincarnation of one of the old prophets, Elijah or Jeremiah, also finds place in the gospels. Today this ancient theory flourishes in our western hemisphere, a prominent publicist of our own generation having been announced by the custodians of theosophist mysteries to be a composite reincarnation of Julius Caesar and Oliver Cromwell. The difference between this theory and that which is characteristic of the apocalyptic literature is that the latter predicates a resuscitation of the actual body surrendered at death, while the former assumes a succession of physical births. They both agree in locating the postmortem life here on earth, hence implying the eternity of the earth as an abode for man. The question of the persistence and identity of personality is involved in the theory of reincarnation. Personality is self-conscious. If the theory of reincarnation be correct, what evidence can you or I produce to prove that in other bodies we were part of the life of the world a hundred or a thousand years ago? Heredity and family genealogy are also involved in the same question. Human souls taking up their abode in the bodies of sub-human animals is another and a very queer phase of the question. The only practical value at all discernible in the theory of reincarnation is the attempt it makes to provide a body for the soul when the present body becomes lifeless.

#### EVOLUTION

The theory of evolution which forms the framework of much of the thinking of our time opens the door to considerations which do no violence to the ascertained knowledge of today concerning the

laws and life of the universe. Wonderful is the panorama which this theory unfolds of the progression of life on the planet. There was a time when no organized life existed. Then came a time when the humblest forms of animal and plant life appeared. This was succeeded by the period when gigantic forests abounded, to be followed by the period when tremendous beasts, mammoths and mastodons, were lords of the world. Then came the human period when by the processes of natural selection psychical progress, registered in the brain, began to exceed physical development, and the reign of man began.

No fact in nature is so significant as is the extreme physical similarity and the enormous psychical divergence between man and the group of animals to which he traces his pedigree. It shows that when humanity began its career an entirely new chapter in the history of the universe opened. Henceforth the life of the soul came to be of first importance and the bodily life was subordinated to it. The process of zoölogical change came to an end. The process of psychological change began.

Through all this wonderful panorama it is clear that one increasing purpose runs, and that purpose finds its consummation and culmination in man. The world as we know it today, the world of plant, animal, and human life, represents a certain stage of cosmic change and progress, a certain condition favorable to the habitation and education of man. Is this the final period? Shall man

who seemed so fair,  
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,  
Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies,  
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,  
Who trusted God was love indeed  
And love Creation's final law—  
Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw  
With rapine, shriek'd against his creed—  
Who loved, who suffered countless ills,  
Who battled for the True and Just,  
Be blown about the desert dust  
Or sealed within the iron hills?

Is man, the goal of all the marvelous processes through which the world has passed, to perish, to suffer annihilation after a few years' experience of earthly life?



We decline so to believe. In fact, so impressed are we with the manifold evidences of purpose all along the line of the earth's history, so impressed are we with the greatness and intelligence of the Power that has made all this universe possible and that is ceaselessly at work therein, that we find it impossible to believe that "we shall be put to permanent intellectual confusion." The very thought of evolution carries within it the thought of the perpetuation of self-conscious existence. No end is conceivable. We feel, we know, that the advent of Jesus Christ introduced a new era in the education and progress of man. We feel, we know, that the influence of Jesus Christ has affected mankind in a manner unique and unprecedented, a manner fit to be called divine, a manner which is nothing less than a world-movement. We feel, we know, that the finest manifestations of human progress during the past 1,900 years have been the direct result of the impact of his spirit on humanity. We feel, we know, that when Jesus Christ disappeared in physical form from the world he did not disappear into nothingness, but that in the totality, the perfected glory of his being, body and soul, full of life unquenchable and exhaustless, which had conquered death, he went into the unseen.

And we also believe, against the testimony of our limited senses, if needs be, that human life, sanctified and glorified as it was in the person of Jesus Christ, is destined to an immortality of fulness of life and fulness of opportunity for the service of righteousness and goodness which will exceed our boldest expectations. And whatever is essential to the outworking of this divine evolutionary purpose for men we may be sure will be forthcoming. "We shall not be unclothed but clothed upon." "The body that is sown is *not* the body that shall be." As Sir Oliver Lodge suggests: The identity of material particles of the old body is not essential to the identity of the person who inhabited the body. And further: "The term body may be used to indicate anything which is able to manifest feelings, emotions, and thoughts, and at the same time to operate efficiently in its environment." We pass through constant change of body here and now. On the page of a magazine I see a group of photographs of a world-known celebrity at different ages of his life. His appearance at the age of six is totally dissimilar

from his appearance at the age of forty. A man at 90 has used and cast aside a dozen different bodies. The present body is mortal. We are born with the seeds of death in us. The natural body is subject to disease, death, dissolution. It is a temporary tenement. From the home of his boyhood the lad of fourteen sets forth to a distant land. Thirty years later he returns and, behold, what a change has occurred in him meantime! His mother does not recognize him. No longer does she see the boy whose image she had carried in her memory these many years. And not only has he changed physically, but also psychically. The fact is we are in a state of constant change psychically as well as physically. In view of this fact, demonstrable in the present life, we need not the aid of the crude fancies of apocalyptic literature or reincarnation to express our thought of the hereafter and of human destiny. The truth these fancies picture forth we perceive and believe, but with the fanciful pictures themselves we may dispense and thereby realize no loss whatever but rather immeasurable gain, because our mind is left free and unfettered to welcome and adjust itself to whatever revelations farther knowledge may disclose. We are free of the universe. Out from the nests and nooks we call our earthly homes we shall one day pass not into nothingness but into life, life not impoverished but unhampered by the limitations that restrict us here where the problem of the freedom of the will will be solved for those who are qualified to exercise a larger freedom, and where powers of being scarcely suspected or but faintly realized in this life will find scope for unwearied service. For death is the gate of life. To die is gain.

## SENNACHERIB'S INVASION AND ITS RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

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Religion cannot be dissociated from history. Even in Old Testament prophecy environment is a formative factor. The messages of the prophets prove to be rooted as firmly in the strata of national and international life as are the words of the world's statesmen. Is the utterance of the prophet one of condemnation? Then it is against specific acts, such as the greed, and the bribery of his own day, that he hurls his denunciations. Does he comfort the people? Then the men of his own day, Cyrus or Zerubbabel or the Maccabees, are the Messiahs of Jehovah and the hope of the people. On every page we see the prophet facing specific problems and ministering to his own particular generation. Also we are aware that in a large measure the very conditions which surround him give color and content to his message. The study of any great national crisis proves this, and none better than that which lies before us.

Before the time of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), the Assyrian had been hovering on the horizon for more than a quarter of a century. Amos and Hosea saw the coming destruction sweeping across the North so that no way of escape remained. Isaiah's early message has no uncertain sound. The North must fall. With this Micah is in full accord. And history proved that these four men read the signs of the times most accurately. The North had fallen before Sennacherib came on the scene.

But the messages of Micah and Isaiah have a peculiar interest for our study. Both men were of Judah. Both were alert to the coming of the invading army. Both believed that Jehovah was using this foreign foe for the punishment of the sinful nation. For Micah the only result is complete overthrow (Mic. 3:12). To him Jerusalem had no sanctity which was proof against the strength of the warriors of Ashur.

Isaiah is equally severe, and quite as universal. Let us refer to one passage only. The interpretation of his own mission is very significant. "Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until cities be wasted without inhabitant and houses without man and the land become utterly waste" (Isa. 6:11). The same thought is expressed in such passages as the following, all earlier than 701 B.C.: Isa. 2:12-19; 3:8; 5:3-11; 7:17-19; 8:7; 10:3; 22:1-4. Such ruin is to visit the country that no place will be inviolate.

All this however was before or during the first approach of Sennacherib. Crowned in 705 B.C., the Assyrian monarch first marched south to quell an insurrection in that part of his kingdom. In 701 B.C., he entered the arena of Palestinian life to punish those who there rebelled against him. The details of his movements are not always certain, but the following is probably the order of events. Beginning with Tyre he speedily brought the coast lands into submission. Many kinglets of the neighborhood then hastily acknowledged his suzerainty. Hezekiah of Judah seems to have been a chief conspirator. Witnessing the conquests of the army in the West, some of his own cities perhaps having been taken, he sends tribute to the Assyrian King (II Kings 18:14-15). Sennacherib, however, unwilling to leave the chief fortress in its security, scourges Judah, taking in all forty-six fenced cities and many smaller ones, and makes preparation for an attack on Jerusalem. Rebellion in Babylonia, however, compels him hastily to return to his own land (II Kings 19:7). More than a decade later, he again makes an expedition to the West against the Arabians and the Egyptians. Probably he now visited Palestine and laid an unsuccessful siege to Jerusalem. In the South his army was decimated by a great plague (II Kings 19:35-36; Herod. ii. 141), and he hurriedly retired to Nineveh. The certainties, however, are Sennacherib's ravaging the towns of Judah, receiving tribute from Hezekiah, and his inability to bring Jerusalem to his feet.

This being clear, what was the influence of his invasion, or more probably invasions, on the prophetic message? First of all, in this was the vindication of prophecy. The teaching of the prophets had been strange in the ears of the people. They were considered

pessimists, who were disloyal to their nation and their God. Their characterizations of Deity seemed far-fetched. They represented God as supremely interested in moral relations, rather than in religious observances. All the prophets agreed that the sinful nation must perish. The scathing message of Isaiah had been ringing in their ears for a generation. The results had not been commensurate with the message. But now the catastrophe has fallen. These men of God are shown to have been the truth-speakers. They alone have read the mind of Jehovah. Thus the messages of these men gain a credence which could scarcely have been possible apart from the episode of the Assyrian invasion. Henceforth, the popular religious conception that, irrespective of character, the day of Jehovah will be a day of light, is altogether untenable. Immanuel, to a corrupt people, proves to be not a sign of hope, but one of destruction.

This fact seems to have borne immediate fruit in the life of the nation. Following the first invasion it is probable that a religious reformation was instituted. The high places, because of lost prestige, would merit no consideration. That the temple and its worship was purified is indicated in II Kings 18:4. How far this reformation was carried is now difficult to say. That Isaiah was the moving spirit in it may be taken for granted. That there was sincere repentance, on the part of many, is a likely result, following the terror of the invasion and the preaching of the prophets.

But more important still is the fact that the experience with this foreign invader essentially changed the message of Isaiah. Prior to the second invasion, influenced by the ruthlessness of the foe and by the repentance of the people, the prophet utters his deep conviction, that this army will not be permitted completely to overthrow Judah. Assyria will be driven back and destroyed (Isa. 10:33-34; 14:24-27; 17:12-14). Further, in the hour of crisis, when the foe gathers around Jerusalem, Isaiah's unwavering confidence in God flashes forth and in the face of everything to the contrary he believes that Jerusalem will be saved. True, even from the beginning of his ministry, this prophet believed that a remnant would repent (Shear-jashub, Isa. 7:3). His disciples, his family, and he himself had remained ever loyal to

Jehovah. But now his confidence assumes a more definite form. Jerusalem, the city of sacred history, the place of his own peculiar experience, the very sanctuary of Jehovah, cannot perish. It is true that some passages teaching this doctrine have been freely reworked by later hands. Yet, these narratives seem to have preserved to us the facts with essential accuracy. Thus, the conception of the inviolability of Jerusalem owes its origin to this most courtly of Old Testament prophets. Jerusalem was indeed to him the localization of his hopes. How completely the conception has changed in a few short years may best be appreciated by a comparison of such passages as Mic. 3:12, or Isa. 29:1-4, where the destruction of Jerusalem is certain, with passages such as Isa. 37:21-22, where the same city is declared inviolable. That this change was brought about by the fortunes of the war of Judah with her overlord is to be conceded.

This again leads directly to the centralization of worship. The outlying sanctuaries of Judah had fallen. Jehovah not having defended them was of course displeased with them. Earlier, the northern sanctuaries had suffered the same fate, presumably for the same cause. But with Jerusalem it was different. Jehovah had delivered it. The most ancient ritual, priests of the most approved lineage, objects of the greatest sanctity, were all there. This marvelous deliverance was the last needed token of its sacrosanct character. This gave an overwhelming impetus to that development of ritual toward which the worship had been moving for centuries. Centralization makes it easily possible to guard the ritual from extraneous elements. Details can be more carefully attended to and perfected. The manner of approach to Deity will become more uniform. Customs will become crystallized. Differentiation of functions in the priesthood will be developed and every part of the ritual will be enhanced in the eyes of the worshippers. The basis is thus firmly laid for the reform of Josiah, and for Ezekiel's temple vision. Between the earlier and simpler conceptions of worship, and that developed ritual of which the Priest code is the exponent, we see that in the pathway of progress the invasion of Sennacherib was of great importance.

Centralization was a fountain from which there flowed many

deviating streams of religious thought. On the one hand, it speedily degenerated into a lifeless dogma. In the time of Jeremiah the careless throng made it the bulwark of moral negligence (Jer. 7:4). On the other hand, the doctrine which sprang from this deliverance enabled the idea of a Davidic dynasty to persist after the fall of the city in 586 B.C. The hope underlying it inspired the return from the exile, the rebuilding of the city and the temple, and the long, sad struggle for national existence. It colored the thought of the interbiblical period and provided a symbolism alike for Jewish and Christian apocalypses. Though the tone often changes, yet through long centuries the confidence of Isaiah against the Assyrian invader rings out its note of victory to perplexed and drooping hearts in life's great struggle.

Implicit in this invasion and centralization lies the conception of monotheism. With many sanctuaries naturally there would grow up many differing methods of approach to Deity, and hence many differing ideas of Deity. The step to polytheism would be very short indeed. With centralization only one method of worship was recognized. In one place only did the Glory dwell. One sanctuary only would thus present to Israel a most striking object-lesson of the oneness of Jehovah. Further, he has summoned the Assyrian to his aid. Yet even a world-conquering army cannot move beyond his set bound. In the advent of Assyria a world-horizon is opened up to Israel for the first time in her history. And in that world-wide vision Jehovah is supreme. What further need of evidence for the unity and the universal power of Jehovah than these two great spectacles, an Assyrian army summoned by Jehovah, and only one sanctuary? The way is thus prepared for that dogmatic statement of monotheism which is elaborated in Deutero-Isaiah.

To follow these great lines of thought in detail through prophecy and legislation would be interesting and profitable. But sufficient has been suggested to show that in the hard school of national experience the rod of Jehovah's anger was his index finger pointing the seers of Israel toward some of the greatest truths of Old Testament revelation.

## THE ANTHROPOMORPHISM OF GEN., CHAP. I

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In our last article<sup>1</sup> we showed that Gen. 1:26 exhibits clear evidence of the existence of a polytheistic conception of deity among the people of Israel at the time when the whole chapter was written. We shall now show that the same passage equally exhibits similar evidence that deity was conceived of at that period as possessing physical form corresponding in every respect to that of man, except, of course, that unlike that of man it could be made invisible as well as visible. In other words, we shall show that man's physical form was supposed to have been modeled after that of his Creator. Thus it is that we read: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."<sup>2</sup> We do not intend it to be understood that we see in the terms "image" and "likeness" *only* a physical meaning, since we agree with the bishops of London and Birmingham, the former writing me in 1899 that both he and the latter, then "Canon" Gore, see in Gen. 1:26 a reference to "man as a whole, body, soul, and spirit," Dr. Ingram, then head of Oxford House, London, adding, that this is Westcott's view expressed in his *Gospel of Life*. Professor Driver, however, says of this "image of God" that "it relates from the nature of the case to man's immaterial nature. It can be *nothing* but the gift of self-conscious reason which is possessed by man, but by no other animal" (*Genesis*, 15). We believe that Professor Driver's one-sided error is the result of his failure to see in Gen., chap. 1, expressions of thought embodying beliefs current at the time this chapter was written. We have already shown that Gen., chap. 1, was written before monotheism was taught in Israel, and therefore before the advent of the conception of God as essentially an irvisi-

<sup>1</sup> See *Biblical World*, November, 1910, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*; Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religions of Today*,



ble spirit. If God was believed by the Israelites to have appeared constantly to them in human form, no Hebrew scribe rejecting such a belief could possibly have included in his narrative a statement plainly accepting not merely a *polytheistic* but also an *anthropomorphic* view of deity. Both Driver and Bennett see in the expression, "and Enoch walked with God" (Gen. 5:22, 24), merely a description of Enoch's "special piety," whereas it is abundantly evident that here we have a reference to an intimacy with deity corresponding to that exhibited in Gen., chap. 3, where man is represented as enjoying the companionship of God visibly present in human form.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it was not until very late in Old Testament times that God was thought of in any other way than as possessing a human form. It was thus that Yahweh was represented as appearing to Abraham whose offer of hospitality was at once accepted by him.<sup>4</sup> We have already shown that the sons of God, or gods, were viewed as divine beings who had contracted physical marriage with mortals. This, while evidently regarded by the Hebrew scribe who inserted this incident in Gen., chap. 6, as contrary to the usual order of marriage, was nevertheless viewed by him as equally capable of having taken place as the frequent marriages between the gods and the mortals described by classical writers.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the whole of the Old Testament, angels—who differ from God merely in degree and not in kind—are viewed as divine beings who possess not only human bodies, but also the ordinary human functions of walking, eating, talking, resting, and evidently sleeping.<sup>6</sup> Now all this shows that the expression, "Let us make man in our image," means primarily that God made man with a bodily form patterned after his own image in and by which he appeared to men. That we are here correct is definitely seen in the account of man's creation in Gen., chap. 2. Here he is formed out of the dust of the ground after the manner of a potter who makes an image of clay, complete and

<sup>3</sup> Dillmann, *in loco*; Toffteen, *Historic Exodus*, 22, 23; cf. Driver, and Bennett on Gen. 3:8.

<sup>4</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Abraham."

<sup>5</sup> Bennett, *Genesis*, 133; Curtiss, *PSRTD*, 120; Ryle, *ENG*, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Driver, *Genesis*, xx; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Angel"; Gen. 19:4.

beautiful, but inert because as yet lifeless. Nevertheless, it already possesses a form which was none other than the image and likeness of God, and not of God *only*, but of the angels or other divine beings, since it was in *our* image and likeness that Yahweh-Elohim, a term signifying "Lord of the Gods," made man. Now it is singular that the Babylonian god, Marduk, who created man, is termed "Lord of gods," "the prince of gods," and even "god of gods."<sup>7</sup> Nor is the representation of man as made in the image of God, meaning, after God's supposed physical form, peculiar to the Bible. The Babylonian Gilgamesh epic describes the two heroes, Gilgamesh and Eabani, as made, the latter out of a piece of clay, in the image of the gods, and so possessed of "divine appearance."<sup>8</sup> Sayce informs us that "the Babylonian gods were represented under the form of men, so that men would have been described as created in their image," and he refers to a recent discovery by Mr. Pinches of a Babylonian text which says, "the man sagsabbar is the zalam, or image of the god Nergal."

From the evidence we have now produced, both here and in article III of this series, we cannot but think that we have fully shown that Gen., chap. 1, was written by a Hebrew scribe who entertained a polytheistic and anthropomorphic view of deity; and we shall therefore now conclude this series by a brief consideration of the religion of Israel in general from the "conquest" to the "exile."

It was formerly held by scholars generally that under the teaching of Moses the Hebrew-Israelites he delivered from the bondage of Egypt and finally intrusted to Joshua for their conquest of, and settlement in, Canaan, were a nation of monotheists who had finally "broken, at least in principle, with heathenism," so that their subsequent frequent declensions into the idolatry of the Canaanites and their neighbors were nothing more than lapses under temptations too strong for them to resist. This view, which is known as "the old degeneration theory," although still held by

<sup>7</sup> Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 119, 239, 437; Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Babylon*, 96-99; Toffteen, *op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 474, 477, 490.

some scholars,<sup>9</sup> modern research shows to be entirely contrary to the facts in the case. In the light of this more careful and candid criticism, Israel is seen to have been both in heart and practice a nation of idolaters from the conquest to the exile. In Egypt they had practiced idolatry, thus copying the example of their Babylonian and Aramaic forefathers; while in Canaan they had simply gone from bad to worse.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in spite of their supposed specially covenanted relation to Yahweh, "history clearly shows," says Professor Bennett, "that the life of Israel does not seem to have been of a very different character from that of other nations. . . . They did not suppose that Jehovah required a purer, more seemly, more humane, more spiritual worship than Baal, Moloch, or Chemosh. They thought to gratify him by idolatry, religious prostitution, obscene rites and symbols, and human sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of children. . . . The Israelites generally had no clear understanding that Jehovah was a moral being. They did not recognize him as unique or even supreme, but tended to confuse him, and even put him on a level with the tribal and national deities of their heathen neighbors. The prophets confronted this popular theology with an emphatic and sweeping condemnation, and announced a different standard of conduct," which, of course, included a different belief. But if all this be so, we have thus in the recorded history of Israel two complete aspects of religion—"that of the inspired prophets, and that of the people and the religious teachers who were the mouthpieces of popular feeling."<sup>11</sup> It has been rightly said that "the religious development of Israel is virtually a development in the idea of God;"<sup>12</sup> and, that "The history of the religion of Israel is the history of the religion of Jahweh."<sup>13</sup> We shall therefore endeavor to show what Israel and its official teachers knew of Yahweh at, and subsequently to, the Exodus, and *when* the later prophetic teaching, with its developing conceptions of the true character and being of God, was first promulgated in Israel.

<sup>9</sup> Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Idolatry."

<sup>10</sup> Budde, *Religions of Israel*, 200.

<sup>11</sup> Bennett, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 9; cf. 9-11.

<sup>12</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "God," by Davidson.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Israel," by Barton.

All critics agree that to the Hebrews of the "Exodus" and the "Conquest," Moses, in his declaration that "Jehovah is the God of Israel," gave a new principle of religion by which Israel finally grew into a state or nation. But the question as to whether he further gave them any new or enlightened conception as to the true character and being of God is with some scholars still a disputed point. Wellhausen thinks that he did not, since "with regard to the essential nature of Jehovah, as distinct from his relation to men," he assumes that Moses "allowed them to continue in the same way of thinking with their fathers." Whatever laws and statutes Moses gave them these contained nothing of a "specifically moral character."<sup>14</sup> It was not until the ninth-century prophets, beginning with Elijah, "that the religion of Israel became ethical and spiritual," although Amos, in the next century, was "the first to teach the faith of a practical monotheist."<sup>15</sup> Even the eighth-century prophets do not declare Yahweh to be God alone, though they are silent as to all other gods. It remained for the prophet of the Exile, the so-called second-Isaiah, and other writers of that period, to declare the essential unity of the Godhead.<sup>16</sup> Thus it is that the bishop of Moray says that "Moses proclaimed Jahweh as the God of Israel, supreme among gods, alone to be worshiped, by the people whom he had made his own. . . . But the realization of the truth that there is none other God but Jahweh came by slow degrees only; henotheism, which taught that Jahweh was alone to be worshiped by Israel, while the heathen deities were real, but inferior, gods, gave place slowly to a true monotheism."<sup>17</sup> Even Elijah, while the first to declare Yahweh's essential moral righteousness, was still a henotheist.<sup>18</sup> His work was chiefly to extirpate the worship of heathen deities in Israel, that of his successors of the eighth century and onward, to raise the religion of Israel to ethical purity. It was with the prophets of this century that the new conception of Yahweh's character and being, in other

<sup>14</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Israel."

<sup>15</sup> Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Israel," by Barton.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "God."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Elijah."

words, the second of the two aspects of Israel's religion already referred to, had its origin. Prior to this Yahweh had been thought of by both people and teachers as a man of similar form and passions to the rest of men.<sup>19</sup> Hitherto consequently he had been worshiped as the Yahweh according to the flesh, henceforth it was to be Yahweh according to the spirit.<sup>20</sup> It is of course true that during this period Yahweh is not recorded as personally connected with any sexual grossness, yet the reproductive organs are held as especially sacred to him,<sup>21</sup> while marriage between the gods and mortals was freely credited. I do not forget that W. R. Smith, while correctly viewing Gen. 6:1-4 as referring to "angels," yet thinks that we have here a piece of old Semitic mythology out of place in the religion of the Old Testament.<sup>22</sup> Out of place with the prophetic part of the Old Testament religion it certainly is, but not with the earlier part written by the teachers of the popular and official theology of that time, a theology, moreover, which, despite the teaching of the prophets, the people refused to give up; hence it was, as Professor Bennett truly says, that the people still sought to gratify Yahweh by religious prostitution, and other obscene rites which they brought into the very temple itself (II Kings 23:6). But while the bulk of the people were thus refusing to listen to the spiritual teaching of the prophets, God himself, by a series of disasters, beginning with the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom in B.C. 722, and ending with that of the South in B.C. 586, had caused a few of the better minds to listen and obey. The master of St. Catherine's College, Canon Johns, sees "nothing unique about the Hebrew religion which would exempt it from the laws admitted to work in the case of other religions."<sup>23</sup> He may be correct touching Israel's pre-prophetic religion, but not touching the prophetic. Here the flesh has gone and the spirit has entirely taken its place, not with the people, however, who to the last we find given to sexual rites, although these were no longer

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Israel;" Driver, "Genesis," xx.

<sup>20</sup> Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 303.

<sup>21</sup> Gen. 24:2; Hastings, s.v. "Israel."

<sup>22</sup> *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 446.

<sup>23</sup> *Cambridge Biblical Essays*.

officially sanctioned (Jer. 6:18; 44:19; Ezek. 16:17, 18). But prophets and priests are at last united in spiritual teaching, theophanies in human form are now no longer taught, not simply ignored, but absolutely rejected as impossible.<sup>24</sup> So thorough had been this spiritual teaching, that when Judah returned from exile the old tendency to idolatry, which had lasted throughout the entire period of the judges and the monarchy, was gone for ever, giving place to a staunch and loyal monotheism. But how? By the at length enforced moral standards of the prophets and their conception of God, both utterly unaccounted for by their environment, or by "the laws admitted to work in the case of other religions." Critical research makes it impossible for us to trace this conception of the prophets of the eighth century back to Abraham and Moses: nevertheless the prophets had it, and the question is, How did they get it? Surely Professor Barton is more correct than Canon Johns in saying, "Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit"; in other words, by *something* unique, by revelation.<sup>25</sup>

It will be recalled that, in the first article of this series, I showed that modern scholars freely admitted the existence of nothing beyond a human element in a large part of the Bible; in other words, that here we have, to requote Canon Beeching, "no part of divine revelation at all." Now comes a new volume of *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, edited by the Regius professor of divinity, Dr. Swete. Speaking on "The Religious Aspect of the Bible," he says, "Its authority has been undisputed; in all matters of which it treats it has been regarded as infallible. This belief has been sincere, but unreasoning, and held for the most part without intelligence or discernment. But such faith in the Bible must go down before the march of knowledge." And he then sounds a note of warning to those who would avert the danger of the present decline in the religious use of the Bible, that their aim must be to place it "upon a basis from which no legitimate criticism can cast it down." It is in some small measure to aid in effecting this result that the present series of papers has

<sup>24</sup> *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v. "Theophany"; Isa. 43:10; 44:6.

<sup>25</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Israel."

been written. Criticism shows plainly that, in the words of Professor Bennett, "The Bible is the record of human misunderstanding as well as of divine revelations," and yet, even the misunderstanding is based on the effort to represent God as supreme, just, and holy. When we come to the eighth century, a new era opens in Israel's religion, and the divine element breaks forth with a light that is never afterward dimmed by human error, but which grows brighter and brighter until it needs but the teaching of Jesus to become the ultimate conception of God for the ages.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 303.



## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER<sup>1</sup>

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Schechter, from whose lists the examples cited at the close of the preceding article were taken, has catalogued some seventy parallels between Ben Sira and the Psalter. These cover forty-four psalms taken indiscriminately from all five books. Schechter argues that in every case the Psalter is the source of Ben Sira's phrases and was therefore extant in its fivefold form in Ben Sira's day. As it will be impossible to examine each instance of alleged parallelism, I can only record my own impressions drawn from a study of them.

The connection between Ben Sira and the Psalter is of the closest possible description. He is saturated with the phrases that are found in Hebrew psalmody. But this relationship can be explained in two ways: (1) Many of the psalms may have originated in the same general period in which Ecclesiasticus was written and hence shared with it the same thoughts and language; or (2) Ben Sira may be considered as in each case a conscious imitator.

The former possibility cannot be altogether dismissed. Because we, today, know a certain body of phrases as exclusively biblical, we cannot argue that if Ben Sira used these phrases, he also knew them as biblical. Three illustrations will serve to put us on our guard at this point. There is a peculiar use of the verb "to see" in the Old Testament in the sense of "seeing one's desires upon one's enemies" (cf. Ps. 112:8; 118:7; 59:11). This might be thought to be a distinctively biblical expression. But it is found in the ancient inscription of Mesa, king of Moab, and in the recently discovered Assuan papyri. This shows that the phrase which we know as biblical was a current phrase in Bible times. Again, the title "God of heaven" which is so characteristic of Nehemiah's

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the January issue of the *Biblical World*.



*Memorabilia* and the later books of the Bible is found in the same Assuan papyri which indicates that it was characteristic of a period, rather than of a book. Most important of all, there is a case of undoubted parallelism between Ben Sira and Daniel:

Dan. 11:35: Even to the time of the end, because it is yet for the appointed time.

B. S. 36:8 (33:10): Hasten the end and appoint the appointed time.

In both passages the technical eschatological terms "end" and "appointed time" are joined together and that, too, in contexts which are similar. Both passages are dealing with implied persecutions of the Jews and with a desire for vengeance. But Daniel is demonstrably later than Ben Sira. Accordingly we must hold that in this case either Daniel is dependent upon Ben Sira or, which is far more probable, both writers were using a technical messianic term current at the time. This last illustration conclusively proves that in case of a striking relationship between a biblical book and Ben Sira we cannot always argue to the dependence of the latter upon the former. In view of these cases the list of coincidences between Ben Sira and the Psalter adduced by Schechter certainly needs sifting so far as the coincidences, taken separately, are used as proof of Ben Sira's dependence. Two illustrations will again emphasize the need of caution:

Ps. 102 (title): A prayer of an afflicted man when he faints and poureth out his complaint.

B. S. 32:4 (35:4): In a place of song<sup>2</sup> do not pour out an address  
And at an unsuitable time do not display your wisdom.

The phrases "pour out an address" and "pour out a complaint" are the same in Hebrew though the Hebrew noun is used in different senses ("address," "complaint"). In adducing this coincidence Schechter no doubt relies on the fact that the phrase occurs only here and at Ps. 142:2 in the Old Testament. Yet an instance like this may just as easily be explained as due to the fact that the phrase was in common use. Again take the following doxological formulas:

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the word for "song" in this verse is *mizmor* and it is used here and at vs. 6 and 49:1 of a secular song. Contrast its use in the Bible of hymns only. However, Ben Sira also knows its religious significance.

- Ps. 145:1, 2, 21: I will extol Thee, oh God my King,  
 And I will bless thy name forever and ever;  
 All the day will I bless thee,  
 And will praise thy name for ever and ever.  
 My mouth shall speak the praise of Jehovah,  
 And let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.
- B. S. 51:11, 12; 39:35: I will praise thy name continually,  
 And will sing thee in prayer;  
 Then Jehovah heard my voice  
 And gave ear unto my supplication;  
 Wherefore I will give thanks and praise  
 And will bless the name of Jehovah.  
 And now with all the heart and mouth sing aloud  
 And bless the name of Jehovah.

The similarities of these doxologies is obvious. Yet they are just such doxologies as were likely to be in current use and could hardly serve as proof of a literary dependence of Ben Sira upon Ps. 145.

But when full allowance has been made for the above considerations, I am still inclined to think that where a relationship exists between Ben Sira and the Psalter, the presumption is always in favor of his literary dependence upon the Psalter. The reasons for this are as follows: (1) Ben Sira, as we have seen, knew a collection of psalms to which he specifically refers and which he in all probability regarded in a loose sense as Scripture. (2) He was a professed imitator of Scripture. (3) His relationship to the Psalter is precisely the same as his relationship to the Law. (4) In general it is the phraseology of the Psalter itself and not the current phraseology of the period in which many of the psalms and Ecclesiasticus were written that has influenced Ben Sira, though room must be left open for possible exceptions to this general proposition. The analogy of Ben Sira's relationship to the Psalter with his relationship to the Law favors it. But it is still more strongly recommended by the almost total lack of any coincidences in words or phrases between Ben Sira and the latest books of the Old Testament. Schechter,<sup>3</sup> from whom my illustrations have been selected, has adduced some 86 coincidences with the Law, 34 with Samuel and Kings, 70 with

<sup>3</sup> The Wisdom of Ben Sira (1899).

the Psalms. On the other hand he refers to only 9 coincidences with Chronicles, of which 5 may at once be disregarded as they are equally coincidences with the older books.<sup>4</sup> But one parallel with Esther is given and that is of the faintest and most unconvincing description. Of the three alleged parallels with Daniel, but one is sure. Probably some of the parallels with the Psalter may be explained as the one sure parallel to Daniel is explained—as due to current ideas and idioms rather than to a literary connection. But the great disproportion between the number of parallels with the earlier books and the number with the later books very strongly favors the view that Ben Sira is indebted to these earlier books themselves for those phrases which he has in common with them, rather than to the idiom of the period in which he lived.

If this view of the general dependence of Ben Sira upon the Psalter is admitted, the *peculiar nature* of the dependence becomes very significant. The Psalter as a part of Scripture has not simply furnished him with ideas. It has furnished him with the language in which to express them. The Psalter is woven into the very texture of his literary idiom. This formal relationship implies an even greater influence of the Psalter upon the author of Ecclesiasticus than if he had actually quoted it, though it makes the priority in individual cases difficult to determine.

(5) But the most interesting evidence for the general priority of the Psalter to Ecclesiasticus remains to be considered. In an addendum first brought to light in the Hebrew fragments there is the following psalm:<sup>5</sup>

## I

1. O give thanks unto Jehovah for he is good: for his mercy endureth forever.
2. O give thanks unto the God of praises for, etc.
3. O give thanks unto the keeper of Israel for, etc.
4. O give thanks unto the former of all things for, etc.
5. O give thanks unto the redeemer of Israel for, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *ZATW* (1900), 89.

<sup>5</sup> Fuchs, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zum hebräischen Ekklesiasticus* (1907), 120 ff., has cast serious doubt upon the genuineness of this psalm, so serious, in fact, that any argument based upon the assumption of its genuineness is so far forth insecure. Yet even if the psalm is not by Ben Sira himself, it must have been practically

## II

6. O give thanks unto him that gathereth the outcasts of Israel for, etc.
7. O give thanks unto him that buildeth his city and his sanctuary for, etc.
8. O give thanks unto him that maketh a horn to sprout for the house of David for, etc.
9. O give thanks unto him that chooseth the sons of Zadok to be priests, etc.

## III

10. O give thanks unto the shield of Abraham for, etc.
11. O give thanks unto the rock of Isaac for, etc.
12. O give thanks unto the Mighty one of Jacob for, etc.
13. O give thanks unto him that hath chosen Zion for, etc.
14. O give thanks unto the King of the kings of kings for, etc.

## IV

15. And he hath lifted up a horn for his people, a praise for all his beloved, even the children of Israel, a people near unto him. Hallelujah.

The close resemblance of the above Psalm to Ps. 136 at once strikes the attention. The two psalms could hardly have been composed independently of one another. But the priority of Ps. 136 is practically certain. The psalm in Ecclesiasticus is intentionally supplemental to Ps. 136. Ps. 136 expresses thanksgiving for the ancient, pre-exilic mercies of God to Israel. The hymn in Ecclesiasticus praises Him for what are primarily post-exilic mercies. This can scarcely be accidental. But Ps. 136 is immediately connected with Ps. 135. They are a pair of Hallels (*vide supra*), the same in topic, thought, and style. It is further admitted that these two psalms belong to the latest stratum in the Psalter. They are liturgical compilations full of reminiscences of other psalms. But, and this is the upshot of the argument, if the psalm in Ecclesiasticus is later than these very late psalms in the Psalter,

contemporary with him. The eulogistic reference to the Zadokite priests in vs. 9 cannot be explained out of a later period. Fuchs admits that this reference must point to a time before 153 B.C. when the Zadokite priests were finally deposed in favor of the Maccabean princes. But the reference to the Zadokite priests points to a still earlier time. The praise of them could scarcely have been written after 170, i.e., the period of the deposition (or murder?) of the high priest, Onias III. After this the Zadokites became a stench in the nostrils of every pious Jew. Hence the genuineness of this psalm is not necessary to my argument so long as it can with probability be maintained that the psalm was practically contemporary with Ben Sira.

it is reasonable to infer, though the proof is admittedly not stringent, that it is later than the great bulk of the Psalms. Accordingly we are not surprised to find other clear reminiscences of the Psalter in this psalm, notably of psalms in Book V.<sup>6</sup>

The general testimony of Ben Sira to the Psalter has now been reviewed. It remains to ask what is the special bearing of this testimony upon the question of the existence of Maccabean psalms.

In the first place, nothing has been discovered in the relationship of the Psalter to the Canon in the age of Ben Sira that would render the incorporation of later psalms into it impossible. We have seen that the group of Writings was in process of formation in this period and that the idea of canonicity, especially of the canonicity of a hymnbook, was vague. From this point of view subsequent accretions are not only possible, they might even be expected. In this connection the psalm in Ecclesiasticus is again of interest. It shows that psalms were still being written in the time of Ben Sira in the spirit of psalms now incorporated in the Psalter.

On the other hand, the fact that this psalm, though anonymous, like many of the canonical psalms, was *not* incorporated in the Psalter, might go to show that the collection was closed.<sup>7</sup> Of more importance than considerations drawn from the history of the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. vs. 3 with Ps. 121:4; vs. 8 with 132:17; vs. 12 with 132:2, 5, and vs. 13 with 132:13. The relationship of vs. 15 to Ps. 148:14 is perplexing. If the hymn in Ecclesiasticus is dependent upon the psalm it is the one case of a verbatim quotation which we have in the book. But is the psalm prior to the hymn? It is very doubtful whether 148:14 is original. The subject of the psalm is the praise of heaven (vss. 1-6) and the praise of the earth (vss. 7-13). Vs. 14 introduces a thought entirely alien to the rest of the psalm. That the psalm has been redacted is practically certain from its present unmetrical form. A balance between the two series of praises would seem to have been originally intended. Note also the correspondence between vs. 13, *a* and *b*, and vs. 5. Yet the second half is longer than the first half by five lines, even after the elimination of vs. 14. There is every evidence, therefore, that the psalm has been tampered with. The thought of the verse in Ecclesiasticus is somewhat more in keeping with the psalm than it is in Ps. 148. But it is as much out of harmony with the poetical structure of the psalm in Ecclesiasticus as it is with the structure of the psalm in the psalter. The original location of the verse it is now probably impossible to determine.

<sup>7</sup> This inference can not be drawn if, as seems probable, the psalm was very early attached to Ben Sira's work, for Ben Sira never was included in the Canon.

Canon is the claim that Ben Sira actually depends on those psalms most confidently assigned to the Maccabean period. Again it is impossible in the compass of these articles to examine all the alleged coincidences between Ben Sira and the psalms in question. I can only select three typical cases in which the factors which must control our final decision are involved:

- (1) Ps. 79:12:                      And render unto our neighbors sevenfold into their bosom.  
       B. S. 32:13 (35:11): Give to God as he gives to thee  
                                          With good intent and as much as you can  
                                          For he is a rewarding God  
                                          And sevenfold will he render unto thee.

This is precisely one of those cases where we must be on our guard against inferring a literary dependence. The phrase "to render sevenfold" is just such a phrase as would be likely to be in current use.<sup>8</sup> Hence on the basis of this coincidence alone we would have no right to assert a priority of the psalm.

- (2) Ps. 44:18:    Our heart is not turned back  
                                          Neither have our steps declined from thy way.  
       B. S. 46:11: And the Judges, each by name,  
                                          All those whose heart was not carried away  
                                          Or turned back from God.

This coincidence is of more importance. The verb "turn back" is used with "heart" only in this psalm and at Prov. 14:14. And the whole Hebrew phrase is very much like that in the psalm. The assertion of faithfulness to Jehovah in the psalm would be applied by Ben Sira to the judges in accordance with his usual method of giving a biblical phrase a different application. Yet here again inferences of dependence upon the psalm based upon this coincidence alone are unsafe. The very fact that this same expression is found in a proverb shows that it was probably a current idiom even if we do not find it again in the Old Testament. We have seen that a large body of such phrases is common to Ben Sira and the Psalter. This is in accordance with what we would expect. We know on independent grounds that Ben Sira was acquainted with a large collection of psalms and used them in the

<sup>8</sup> It is found again at B. S. 7:3 and 20:12.

same way as he did the other Scriptures. But for the reasons already assigned, when it comes to individual cases, dependence of Ben Sira upon this or that particular psalm cannot safely be inferred from such coincidences alone.

- (3) Ps. 74:10-11, 13: We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet  
 Neither is there any among us that knoweth how long.  
 How long, O God, shall the adversary reproach  
 Shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?  
 Why drawest Thou back thy hand, even thy right hand?

Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength,  
 Thou breakest the heads of the sea-monsters in [over]  
 the waters.

- B. S. 33:6-9, 12 (36:6-10): Renew the signs and repeat the wonders,  
 Exalt the hand and the right arm,  
 Awake anger and pour out wrath,  
 • Humble the adversary, strike down the enemy.

Destroy the head of the princes of the enemy  
 Who say there is none beside me.

This seems to be one of those cases of very subtle relationship which we have seen to exist between Ben Sira and the Scriptures. Observe the remarkable parallelism in the following expressions: Ps.: "signs"; "adversary, enemy"; "hand, right hand"; "breakest the heads"; B. S.: "signs"; "hand, right arm"; "adversary, enemy"; "destroy the head." The fact that the phrases "breaking the heads" and "destroying the head" are not quite the same and that the allusions in both are quite dissimilar is of little consequence in view of the known peculiarities of Ben Sira's use of Scripture, and especially in view of the remarkable and unusual similarity in the contextual thought of the two passages in the present instance. I confess that this passage makes the impression upon me of being dependent upon Ps. 74, although on internal grounds this psalm makes as strong a claim as any other psalm to be Maccabean.

To sum up the testimony of Ben Sira to the existence of the Psalter: (1) There was unquestionably a collection of psalms known as Davidic and regarded in a loose sense as Scripture. (2) This collection inferentially included the great bulk of the

psalms now in our collection. (3) The evidence drawn from the doctrine of Scripture probably held in this period does not veto the possibility of subsequent additions to the Psalter. (4) The evidence drawn from the coincidences between Ben Sira and reputed Maccabean psalms is not in itself conclusive against such psalms, but when viewed in the light of the general dependence of Ben Sira upon the Psalter, is decidedly unfavorable to them. This prejudice can only be overcome by the strongest possible positive internal evidence of the psalms themselves to their Maccabean origin.



MUSICIAN AND CHOIR

From Tello, 3000 B.C.



## THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The theological seminaries of the country will cordially unite in congratulating the Union Theological Seminary of New York upon the completion and occupation of its splendid new group of buildings on Morningside Heights which were dedicated on November 29. This notable school of theological learning was established in 1836. Until 1884 it was situated at what is now a far down-town location, in University Place. In the latter year it removed to new and splendid buildings at 700 Park Avenue, which it was then fully expected would serve the purpose of the institution for an indefinite period to come. Barely a quarter of a century, however, served happily to prove the error of this judgment, and more happily still, to bring to the institution the friends and means which made possible the recent transfer to the new group of buildings extending from Broadway to Claremont Avenue, and from 120th to 122d streets.

The erection of this group of buildings is a notable event in the history of theological education, if not also in that of ecclesiastical architecture in this country. The architecture is the English Perpendicular Gothic. The quadrangle includes the Entrance or Library Tower, an administration building in which are contained also classrooms, a chapel, a library building, a student's dormitory, a President's house, and a residence building for the families of the members of the faculty. The total cost of land and buildings is approximately \$2,400,000, being eight times the amount received for the sale of the land and buildings at 700 Park Avenue. The chapel, a gift of Mrs. D. Willis James as a memorial to her husband, was erected at a cost of \$300,000. The tower at 120th Street and Broadway will eventually rise to a height of 200 feet. It will be similar in character to the tower in the Houses of Parliament in London.

The erection of these buildings at a cost which even a comparatively few years ago would not have been dreamed of, bear significant testimony to the interest—let us hope the permanent interest—of the church, including men and women of the largest financial resources, in the work of theological education. That scholars such as Charles Cuthbert Hall, Francis Brown, and his associates, should have planned so splendidly for the future of theological education, and that laymen of the church



THE CHANCEL OF THE CHAPEL, UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

such as D. Willis James and John Crosby Brown should, at great cost to themselves, have realized the plan in brick and stone, bears weighty witness to the hold which the cause of theological education has today upon the strong men of the church.

On the other hand, the erection of these buildings bears no less important testimony to the expansion of theological education. For the need of the new buildings was not so much the result of increasing numbers in the school as of the broadening curriculum and scope of theological education. As long ago as 1880, before the Seminary was removed to 700 Park Avenue, it had 130 students; in 1905, when probably the first steps were being taken for the erection of the buildings which have just been completed, the registration of the school numbered but 138; its latest reports show a registration of 192, which is probably the highest number which the school ever contained. This is indeed a notable increase, but even if anticipated can scarcely have been the chief cause for the removal to Morningside Heights. More potent causes have been the increase of the library, the enlargement of the curriculum, and the broadening conception of what is involved in an adequate theological education for men of the twentieth century. It is instructive to observe that, while the total number of the faculty in 1884-85 was seven, there today are fifteen professors in active service, three instructors, and two stated lecturers.

Congratulating the Union Theological Seminary on its beautiful new buildings and its fair prospect for the future, we congratulate the church even more on the testimony which is thus borne to the undiminished interest in theological education, and the broadening conception of its scope.

## Work and Workers

IN the *Intercollegian* for December, 1910, Mr. Thornton B. Penfield, secretary, for theological schools, of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, presents the results of some careful study of the statistics of the attendance upon Protestant theological seminaries in the United States. He states, what will be confirmed by the experience of anyone who is engaged in a similar task, that accurate figures are extremely difficult, indeed practically impossible, to obtain. He believes, however, that the tables show the essential facts. Two of these tables we reprint below.

### PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

	Men	Women
1870.....	3,254	
1875.....	4,785	
1880.....	4,953	
1885.....	5,231	
1890.....	6,029	
1895.....	6,616	
1900.....	5,975	32
1901.....	5,632	91
1902.....	5,410	108
1903.....	5,628	166
1904.....	5,597	195
1905.....	5,699	201
1906.....	5,935	238
1907.....	6,194	258
1908.....	6,664	290
1909.....	7,189	307
1910.....	7,587	312

DENOMINATION	No. OF SEMINARIES	1908-1909		1909-1910	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Baptist.....	20	1,568	150	1,665	164
Christian.....	10	597	59	675	63
Congregational.....	10	487	19	510	10
Episcopal.....	16	418	..	424	..
Lutheran.....	24	1,090	..	1,199	1
Methodist.....	22	1,194	37	1,188	36
Presbyterian.....	23	1,076	14	1,161	9
Reformed.....	6	160	..	181	..
Others.....	13	599	28	584	29
Total.....	144	7,189	307	7,587	312

Meantime, independently of Mr. Penfield, the editors of the *Biblical World* have been gathering statistics, supplementing similar efforts made in previous years. While Mr. Penfield's investigations have covered all the theological seminaries of the country, the editors of the *Biblical World* have confined theirs to the schools which are organized and conducted especially for college graduates. It is, of course, impossible to draw any absolute line between schools on this basis; for, while there are a few schools that receive only college graduates, and many schools have practically no college graduates, there is a large middle class which differ one from another only in the proportion of the two classes which they contain. It is, moreover, impossible to obtain perfectly accurate statistics. Nevertheless it is possible fairly well to place in one group the schools in which a large fraction of the students, at least, are college graduates, and whose curriculum is intended for such, and another group those which have few or no college graduates, and the figures as a whole tell an unambiguous story. Of the 144 schools included by Mr. Penfield in his tables, approximately forty per cent may be counted, roughly, as graduate theological schools. The following tables include results of the study of the statistics of 56 schools of this class. Two columns are given for 1910-11, because the figures for the preceding years covering the entire registration, fair comparison requires that beside the actual registration of the autumn months there should be added also a fair estimate of the registration for the year. The figures in the last column are conservatively based on estimates furnished by each school for itself. Of the four schools included in the eighth group three are also included in previous groups.

STATISTICS OF STUDENT ATTENDANCE AT GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL  
SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1879-80 TO 1910-11

Schools	No.	1879- 80	1884- 85	1889- 90	1894- 95	1899- 1900	1904- 5	1905- 6	1906- 7	1907- 8	1908- 9	1909- 10	1910- 11	1910- 11
1. Presbyterian.....	11	529	591	783	1,073	863	796	778	766	796	789	807	886	899
2. Reformed, Reformed Presbyterian, and United Presby- terian.....	8	145	158	236	314	256	205	223	239	218	211	205	208	208
3. Lutheran.....	12	269	405	469	621	605	576	531	570	587	625	694	740	746
4. Congregational.....	7	308	334	477	502	332	338	316	310	318	344	372	358	372
5. Baptist.....	7	358	366	518	731	729	632	668	669	657	721	717	664	725
6. Methodist.....	4	259	278	459	483	450	595	635	602	660	735	691	629	671
7. Episcopalian.....	6	249	176	234	291	264	237	243	251	236	254	278	276	287
8. Undenominational, or with inter-de- nominational con- stituency.....	4	287	284	443	461	403	401	416	400	401	437	444	459	463
Total.....	56	2,140	2,328	3,202	4,067	3,527	3,422	3,435	3,444	3,507	3,713	3,815	3,813	3,960

A comparison of Mr. Penfield's tables with our own yields the following results:

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF MEN IN GRADUATE AND  
NON-GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

	All Schools ( <i>ca.</i> 144) Penfield's Figures	Graduate Schools ( <i>ca.</i> 56) Our Figures	Non-Graduate Schools ( <i>ca.</i> 88) Difference
1879-80.....	4,953	2,140	2,813
1884-85.....	5,321	2,328	2,993
1889-90.....	6,029	3,202	2,827
1894-95.....	6,616	4,067	2,549
1899-1900.....	5,975	3,527	2,474
1904-5.....	5,699	3,422	2,277
1905-6.....	5,935	3,435	2,500
1906-7.....	6,194	3,444	2,750
1907-8.....	6,664	3,507	3,157
1908-9.....	7,189	3,713	3,465
1909-10.....	7,587	3,815	3,772
1910-11 (autumn)....	.....	3,813	....
1910-11 (estimated)...	.....	3,960	....

It will be noticed that Mr. Penfield's figures in the first column are for men only. Those in the second column being for graduate schools represent chiefly men. Our sources of information do not enable us to state exactly how many women are in these schools. Whatever that number is should probably be eliminated by so much reducing the number of men in graduate schools and increasing the number in non-graduate schools.

Some comments are made upon these figures in our editorial article.

## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

RICE, E. W. *Orientalisms in Bible Lands, Giving Light from Customs, Habits, Manners, Imagery, Thought, and Life in the East for Bible Students.* Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1910. Pp. 300. \$1.00.

A very useful collection of facts for the Sunday-school teacher. The author has gathered an astonishing amount of information within a small compass. The layman who reads this book will find many statements of Scripture that were previously obscure made clear as noonday by the facts placed at his disposal. Forty-five half-tone illustrations increase the value of the work.

MEYER, H. H. *The Lesson Handbook, 1911. A Concise Commentary on the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for the Entire Year Based on the Text of the American Standard Bible. With an Introduction by J. J. McFarland.* New York: Eaton & Mains. 25 cents.

A convenient vest-pocket edition of the text of the lessons, with a few explanatory notes and a few moral and religious applications. It is above the average in the kind of work it sets out to do.

#### ARTICLES

PATON, L. B. *Modern Palestine and the Bible. Homiletic Review, January, 1911, pp. 8-12.*

The first of a series of articles upon this theme. This instalment takes up the location and physiography of Palestine with their bearing upon Israel's religion and history.

WHITEHOUSE, O. C. *Eberhard Schrader. Expository Times, December, 1910, pp. 104-8.*

An appreciation of Schrader and his work by the scholar who translated his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* for English readers. Schrader is rightly known as the father of Assyriology, having put the study upon a scientific basis and having taught most of the older members of the present generation of Assyriologists.

LANGDON, S. *Concerning "Jahweh" in Lexicographical Babylonian Tablets, ibid., pp. 139 f.*

A discussion of the supposed occurrence of the name of Israel's God on an old Babylonian tablet. The author decides against the identification.

### NEW TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

RAMSAY, SIR WILLIAM M. *Pictures of the Apostolic Church: Its Life and Thought.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1910. Pp. xii+420. \$1.50.

Papers on the International Lessons of 1909 which Sir William M. Ramsay contributed to the *Sunday School Times* are collected in this volume. They cover a large part of the Book of Acts, and some scattered sections of various epistles. In view of this miscellaneous character, an index and a table of Scripture references would have helped the student. On the whole the book does not seem to add much to the author's previous and fuller treatments of similar themes.

MACLAREN, ALEXANDER. Expositions of Holy Scripture. Fifth Series, eight vols.: I and II Cor., Eph., Gal., Phil., Col., I and II Thess., I and II Tim., Titus, Philemon, Heb., James, I and II Pet., I, II, and III John, Jude, Rev. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1910. \$10.

This imposing collection of the late Dr. Maclaren's expositions of Scripture is completed with the present series of eight substantial volumes. Their value is homiletical and devotional rather than historical and critical.

EACHES, O. P. I, II, and III John, Jude, and Revelation. A Popular Commentary upon a Critical Basis, Especially Designed for Pastors and Sunday Schools. Clark's People's Commentary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1910. Pp. xxxii+400. \$1.25.

This is the concluding volume of Dr. Clark's People's Commentary. It is unfortunately not entirely accurate in matters of introduction, and its criticism and interpretation are hardly adequate. Indeed, historical interpretation is not attempted.

MATHEWS, SHAILER. A History of New Testament Times in Palestine, 175 B.C.—70 A.D. Revised edition. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xi+234. \$1 net.

Professor Mathews' graphic and helpful sketch of New Testament times, after repeated reprints, is now published in a revised form. A new chapter (xvi) on "The Fall of Judea and the Rise of the Christian Church," and a List of the Roman Procurators of Judea (Appendix D) are among the improvements embodied in this new edition.







ST. PAUL

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

MARCH, 1911

NUMBER 3

## Editorial

### THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF TRUTH

#### A TEST OF TRUTH

Amid the many and conflicting voices demanding allegiance and promising safety, the serious man sometimes wishes that truth might be attested by some unmistakable, but easily discernible sign. How easy and simple the problems of life would become if we were but in a position to apply a laboratory test to the various solutions that offer themselves! How clear the path of duty must have seemed to those who heard the "thus saith the Lord" of the prophets! Surely then the will of God was easily accessible to his children! But after all, was it? We venture to think that for the mass of men the task of determining the content of truth has never been any more simple or easy than it is now.

#### THE PROPHETS' PRESENTATION OF TRUTH

The prophets of Israel indeed seem to have been possessed of the conviction that they were the spokesmen of God. But they had no means of enforcing that conviction upon their hearers. The latter were confronted by exactly the same difficulty as the men of today in attempting to decide upon what was true. They had to reckon with the fact that the prophets did not always agree among themselves. The prophets of one age sometimes condemned the teachings of those of an earlier age, as in the case of Hosea who denounced the revolution under Jehu which had received the indorsement of the prophets of Jehu's own time. Contemporary prophets even did not always interpret the existing situation alike, as in the case of Isaiah and Micah, one of whom

declared Jerusalem inviolable when Sennacherib's army came against it, while the other predicted its complete destruction. Both were alike certain that they spoke the word of God. The so-called "false prophets" were ever present. Micaiah ben-Imlah, for example, was confronted by a body of four hundred prophets, equally certain with himself of the inspiration of Jehovah, who assured Ahab of victory in his contemplated campaign, while Micaiah could announce nothing but death and disaster. Jeremiah seeking to impress Judah with the futility of resistance to Babylon finds his efforts frustrated by other prophets like Hananiah, who in a frenzy of patriotism and of loyalty to Jehovah foretell the complete overthrow of Babylon. Under such circumstances, what was the common man to do?

That this difficulty was keenly felt, appears upon the face of the Old Testament record. Jeremiah in his conflict with Hananiah sought to furnish a test of prophetic truth by declaring that the content of true prophecy had always been announcements "of war and of calamity and of pestilence"; consequently, the word of a prophet bringing a message of peace should be believed only after his prophecy had been realized in fulfilment. That is to say, none were to be accepted as true representatives of the will of God who did not agree with Jeremiah. The Deuteronomist puts the question squarely and answers it frankly: "If thou say in thy heart, how can we know the word which Jehovah hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jehovah, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jehovah hath not spoken" (Deut. 18:21 f.). This means, of course, that when a prophet comes urging a certain course of action and making certain predictions in case his counsel is or is not followed, his hearers have no infallible means of knowing in advance whether or not his counsel is wise; they must act one way or the other and await the issue. Evidently the prophet was given no credentials attesting his authority. He had no means of compelling assent to his teachings. He could only state what he believed to be the truth and leave it to make its own impression and find for itself acceptance. His only passport to men's hearts and minds was the strength and purity of his own

character and personality on the one hand and the inherent power of his message on the other.

#### THE TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS

The situation was in no essential particular different in the case of Jesus and the apostles. Jesus recognized this fact and insisted upon the ability of truth and righteousness to speak for themselves and upon their independence of all extraneous indorsement whatsoever. He felt that if the truth as he presented it did not win the assent of men, it was useless to attempt to compel assent by other means. Those who have turned a deaf ear to the teachings of the prophets will not be convinced by any sort of extraordinary attestation. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead." Recognizing that the spirit of the age called for an exhibition of supernatural power on the part of one making such claims as himself, he said, "Why doth this generation seek a sign? Verily, I say unto you, there shall no sign be given unto this generation" (Mark 8:12). He had such absolute confidence in the truth and power of his message that he did not hesitate at times virtually to repeal sections of the venerated Mosaic law and to substitute his own principles for them. The same assurance sounds forth in other sayings: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life"; "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." With all this confidence, Jesus and his followers were as dependent upon the open-mindedness of those to whom they preached and upon the self-evidencing character of truth itself as is any modern minister. They presented the truth of God to the men of their day for acceptance or rejection, and the vast majority of those who heard it refused to accept it. They were entirely free to do with it as they would. No compulsion not inherent in truth itself was brought to bear upon them.

#### TRUTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE

So has it always been and so must it always be. Truth in any realm must be accepted for its own sake, or not at all. The operation of any external forces or ulterior motives vitiates the whole

proceeding. Truth accepted primarily for any other reason than the consciousness that it is truth is discredited and insulted. Not only so, but the dignity and integrity of personality is insulted and violated by any external compulsion in this realm. It is man's highest privilege to decide for himself what forces shall dominate his life. Few functions of the personality are as high as that whereby he discriminates between truth and error, between right and wrong. Herein he attains the full stature of the perfect man. It would be criminal, if it were possible, to deprive any man of this right to the exercise of his highest powers. This aspect of the question of authority in things religious has not received the consideration it deserves. Authority has its part in the development of personality and that is an indispensable part. But for the full-grown spirit there can be no authority that is inconsistent with the fullest liberty of hospitality toward new truth. In the realm of truth there can be no slaves. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

## THE CANONIZATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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It is the aim of this article to trace in its broader outlines the history of the Old Testament canon. What were the purposes and influences that led the Jewish church to assemble portions of its inheritance of religious literature and at length to constitute them into a standard of religious thought? What principle of selection was applied in separating sacred from ordinary books, and how did the process of canonization affect the religious life and thought of the nation? Whoever attempts to answer these questions must expect to encounter at the outset two obstacles, the one negative, the other positive.

The mistaken belief that the Old Testament writings assumed their present form in the times of which they treat, and that the several books became authoritative immediately upon their appearance is in spite of much recent progress more widespread than is commonly supposed in critical circles. Modern biblical scholarship, it is true, has proved beyond a reasonable doubt the composite character of many Old Testament books. They are found to have a complex literary history during which they grew by compilation and redaction. Where, as in the case of the Pentateuch, the origins of the various literary strata are separated by the space of centuries, it is as impossible to believe in the original inviolable canonicity of the resulting product as in its collective Mosaic authorship. So long as compilers felt free to add, subtract, and modify, it can hardly have been esteemed canonical. In other words, the final act of canonization, if there was one, must have taken place after the final compilation and redaction.

The critical conclusions of Old Testament literary analysis are therefore an indispensable preliminary to an inquiry into the process by which the Hebrew Bible was standardized. They open a per-

spective across a long literary history and prove conclusively that the origin of Hebrew literature and the origin of the Hebrew canon were not coincident. Hence Ryle justly distinguishes "three stages under which we recognize the guidance of the Holy Spirit in preparing for us the Revelation of the Word contained in the Old Testament." These stages are the formative, the redactional, and the selective. The critical knowledge and mental discipline presupposed by such an approach to the problem will always constitute to the popular mind a serious negative difficulty even where modern biblical scholarship is given a welcome.

But there is a positive difficulty of even more formidable character. This consists in a total absence of direct evidence from reliable Jewish sources on the origin and history of the Old Testament canon. In 1538 Elias Levita, a learned Jew, wrote his *Massoreth hammassoreth* wherein he set forth the view that Ezra and "the men of the great synagogue" united "the twenty-four books" of the Old Testament into one volume and divided them into the three parts known as the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings (Hagiographa). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Christian scholars like Buxtorf, Hottinger, Leusden, and Carpzov adopted uncritically this view of Levita and gave it the stamp of orthodoxy in Christian circles. But there was no historical foundation for Levita's assertion. It was a mixture of legendary Jewish tradition and mere conjecture. The traditional sources of information to which he had access are still accessible to us and enable us to discriminate between what he found and what he imagined.

The leading Jewish references to the origin of the Hebrew canon, arranged in the order of antiquity, are the following: the preface to the Proverbs of Jesus ben-Sira, prefixed by the author's grandson to his Greek translation, *ca.* 130 B.C.; an obviously spurious letter at the beginning of the Second Book of Maccabees, first century B.C.; the Fourth Book of Ezra, an apocryphal book written near the end of the first century A.D.; the *Bâba bâthra* of the Talmud; and Josephus in his work against Apion, written toward the close of the first century A.D. The content of these passages, sometimes grotesquely legendary, contradictory in details, and in conflict with well-ascertained historical facts as well as with the internal



evidence of the Old Testament books, is valuable only for an indirect testimony to an early tripartite division of the Hebrew canon.

This threefold division of the canon, however, has furnished biblical scholars with an important clue. It suggests that there really were three canons successively formed, and that the collective designation employed by the Jews, "Law, Prophets, and Writings" (Torah, Nebi'im, Kethubhim), preserves a recollection of the fact. The arrangement of books in our Hebrew Bibles, fixed since the days of the Massora, with slight variations within the third group, is as follows: I, "The Law," or five books of the Pentateuch; II, "The Prophets," divided into the "Former Prophets," the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the "Later Prophets," Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Book of the Twelve (minor prophets); III, "The [holy] Writings," i.e., Psalms, Proverbs, Job, The Five Rolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Daniel, Ezra (including Nehemiah), and Chronicles. The arrangement of books in our Christian Bibles, which differs decidedly from the above, is traceable to the Septuagint. In the latter the Hebrew order was discarded in favor of a past-present-future scheme of arrangement in which the historical books came first, then the didactic, including the poetical books, and finally the prophetical books. By this procedure the books of the third division were in part redistributed and made to change places with those of the second division. Whatever hint the Hebrew order contained regarding the age and character of certain books was thus obscured. The Book of Daniel probably suffered most, for it was thrust bodily among the prophets, though protesting by position and content, "Neither a prophet, nor a prophet's son am I." Only comparatively recent scholarship has succeeded in elucidating the significance of its place in the third canon.

It seems clear, then, that for an answer to our questions we must fall back upon a critical estimate of the internal evidence of the individual books, and compare this with the arrangement of the Hebrew canon, and such extra-biblical data as have come down to us. The logical starting-point is Deuteronomy. The nucleus of this book was found in the Jerusalem temple and immediately promulgated in 621 B.C. Its divine authority was apparently

not questioned. The effect of the reading upon Josiah and his advisers, and the thorough reformation which followed, leave no doubt upon this point. There is every reason to believe that it was the first book of the Bible which attained a certain degree of canonical authority.<sup>1</sup> Yet there was no formal act of canonization, nor did a gradual growth of popular esteem lead up to its public acceptance. Making its appearance as a long-forgotten, God-inspired book of assumed Mosaic authorship, it immediately became a religious standard.

Deuteronomy, as is well known, represents a compromise between prophetic and priestly tendencies. The former stood for spontaneity and moral initiative, the latter for tradition and ceremonial legalism. It lay in the nature of the reform, and the importance it attached to legitimacy of *place* and *ritual*, that the centralization of worship at Jerusalem played into the hands of the priests. They soon found in the letter of Deuteronomy a convenient prop for pretensions opposed to its spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Then moral freedom, in the person of Jeremiah, begins its struggle against the bondage of tradition. A living maker of the nascent Bible is put on trial by its earliest perverters. Cast out in its grosser forms, idolatry returns under the more insidious garb of bibliolatry. The evils of standardized book religion—Deuteronomy being the book—are scathingly arraigned by Jeremiah: "How do ye say, We are wise and the law of Jahveh is with us? But, behold, the lying pen of the scribes hath made of it a falsehood. The wise men are put to shame and taken—lo, they have rejected the word of Jahveh, and what manner of wisdom is in them?" (8:8, 9).

After the destruction of Jerusalem patriotic interest in the nation's past and the hope of a coming restoration gave a new stimulus to the collection of Israel's literature. Those portions which recorded the deeds of their national heroes, prophetic lore

<sup>1</sup> The only rival for this distinction would be the Book of the Covenant, Exod., chaps. 20-23. But Deuteronomy preserved of it what could be modernized and abrogated the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bade, "Der Monojehwismus des Deuteronomiums," *ZATW*, II (1910), 86-88; also *Biblical World* (September, 1909), 181.

which seemed to throw a gleam of explanation and hope upon their national disaster, and those digests of ceremonial law whose observance was deemed necessary to guard the purity of external worship naturally had first claims to consideration. The increasing importance attached to Deuteronomy is strikingly apparent in the complete revision to which existing historical documents were now subjected. The JE material in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings is conformed to the new religious standard.

Nevertheless the Book of Deuteronomy was not yet canonical in the sense of later times. It did not imply a degree of holiness which prevented alterations and additions. Ezekiel feels free to project a new legislative scheme (chaps. 40-48) that contravenes Deuteronomy at a number of points. Still later, in 444 or perhaps 432, Ezra solemnly promulgated "the book of the law of Moses" (Neh. 3:1 ff.) which is most plausibly to be identified with the substance of our Priests' Code (P). Enough is mentioned of its content to show that its provisions and implications superseded Deuteronomy, or were at variance with it, at a number of crucial points. Furthermore, recent discoveries<sup>3</sup> in Egypt have shown that a Jewish colony at Elephantine knew or cared so little about the central doctrine of Deuteronomy that when Egyptians in 410 B.C. destroyed their temple they applied first to Jerusalemite, then to Samaritan, officials for political aid in their endeavor to secure permission to rebuild. But a rigorist like Ezra could have regarded the destruction of the high place at Elephantine only as a deserved judgment of Jahveh. Nöldeke, therefore, sees in the false move of the priests at Elephantine decisive proof that the Priests' Code must have been proclaimed by Ezra in Jerusalem only a little before 410 B.C. The Jewish colony at Elephantine dated the construction of its Jahveh sanctuary back to the "days of the kings of Egypt," i.e., before the Persian conquest in 525 B.C. Therefore the type of religion that speaks to us in these Aramaic papyri is evidently the popular Jahvism of the pre-Deuteronomic period in

<sup>3</sup> Sachau, "Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine," *Preuss. Akademie der Wiss.*, Berlin, 1907 u. 1908; "Ein altaramäischer Papyrus aus der Zeit des ägyptischen Königs Amyrtæus," *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, 529-41 (Paris, 1909); Adolphe Lods, *Les découvertes d'Éléphantine et l'Ancien Testament* (Montbéliard, 1910).

Israel. In a remote corner of Egypt it continued to flourish long after the proclamation of Deuteronomy at Jerusalem.

These facts force upon us the inference that Deuteronomy exercised during this period an authoritative influence over religious thought, but that it had not yet acquired the inviolable sacredness which we associate with the later idea of canonicity. The public ratification of Ezra's law book—assuming it to have been substantially what we know as P—introduces us to a confused and confusing stage in the growth of the Pentateuch. Internal evidence tends to show that three of its constituent elements coexisted independently for a brief period; these were the Deuteronomically revised edition of the earlier compilatory work JE; an expanded edition of the law book published by Josiah, i.e., Deuteronomy; and the Priestly Law solemnly promulgated by Ezra. Such canonical claims as were made on behalf of the last two at this time must have conflicted somewhat. The very fact that the sacerdotal party of Ezra found it difficult or impossible to displace Deuteronomy with the Priests' Code may have been one of the determining influences that led to the new compilation and redaction by which P was united with JED.

In the absence of all external evidence the precise time at which this took place is difficult to fix. Those who favor an earlier date point to the fact that the defection and establishment of the Samaritan community took place about 400 B.C., and that its acceptance of the entire Pentateuch proves the latter to have been completed before that date. Others, who fix upon a somewhat later date, urge in favor of their view evidence of subsequent redaction and the surprising liberties which the author of the Book of Jubilees (*ca.* 40 B.C.) still permits himself in the treatment of matters contained in the Law, although he is a strict Pharisee. But for our purpose the year 400 B.C., when Plato's brilliant intellect was beginning to illuminate the philosophy of Greece, may be regarded as marking the completion of the Pentateuch and the beginning of its integral canonical history. Henceforward its sacrosanct character in Jewish religious thought assumes increasingly absurd and superstitious forms as it approaches and passes into the Christian era.

We now turn to the formation of the second canon, that of the prophets. The foundations of the prophetic canon—the "former

prophets" or the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—were laid by the separation of the Law from the historical material contained in these writings. Nothing is more clearly established by critical evidence than that the Book of Joshua formed originally a work continuous with the Pentateuch. When it was separated from the Law it no doubt continued to enjoy, with kindred historical documents, the esteem which it had previously acquired.

About 300 B.C. it was deemed desirable, in priestly circles, to rewrite the historical books from the point of view of the Priests' Code. The result was our present Book of Chronicles together with those of Ezra and Nehemiah. Considering the differences of fact and of theory between this Levitical history of Israel and the earlier Deuteronomic view of that history, it is impossible to suppose that the writer of the former attached canonical importance to the latter. The historical books of the "former prophets" were only *on the way* to canonicity when the Chronicler tried to displace them with his own didactic history which he must have considered truer to the facts. The prevailing judgment of the time evidently favored the earlier history, for Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings was included in the second canon, while Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was left over to be included eventually in a third canon when time had softened the issues out of which it arose. It is probable that its early acceptance as a Midrash on the earlier books opened the door for future promotion.

The Joshua-Kings group of writings was classified as prophetic literature because it was popularly believed to have been written by prophets, whose messages *par excellence*, therefore, had intrinsic claims to consideration. A large collection of prophetic sermons must have been in the hands of scribes of the fifth century B.C. Isaiah alluded to the preservation of his prophecies in writing (30:8), and Baruch's services as amanuensis to Jeremiah are well known. Internal evidence shows that there were a number of independent collections which were later combined. It is not surprising to find that some of these ascribed the same prophecy to different prophets.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 2:2-4 = Mic. 4:1-3; Jer. 49:7-22 = Obad., vss. 1-9. In the latter case internal evidence tends to show that both Jeremiah and Obadiah used an earlier prophecy; Matt. 27:9 still quotes Zech. 11:13 as from Jeremiah.

But if collections of prophecies were in existence long before the canon of the Torah was closed (*ca.* 400 B.C.) and prophets were accredited spokesmen of Jahveh, why was not this literature canonized with the Torah? Doubtless Budde is right in assigning as the main reason the belief, traceable to the Deuteronomic school, that the prophets were merely expounders of the Law, and not organs of new revelation; that they were sent to admonish an unfaithful people to observe the Law, and to announce judgment upon the impenitent. Theirs was conceived to have been a transitory function beside the eternal validity of the Law.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly the Jews applied to all scriptural books outside of the Law the term *Kabbala*—tradition. This growing zeal for the Torah, and the belief that the prophets must sustain an ancillary relation to it, led in the time of Christ to a revival of doubts regarding the canonical character of the Book of Ezekiel on account of its evident lack of conformity with the Law.

That the presuppositions of this view were both historically and theoretically false must be stated here without argument. The great pre-exilic prophets never knew the Torah—except, perhaps, in embryo—by which the Jewish doctors tried to judge them. If the elaborate sacrificial ceremonial of the priestly portions of the Pentateuch, notably Leviticus, had been in existence in the days of Isaiah, or of Jeremiah, could the former have asked his scornful question, "Who hath required this at your hand?" (1:12), or the latter have denied absolutely that Jahveh gave commands about sacrifices during the exodus period (Jer. 7:22, 23)? Christianity, following the lead of Jesus, has rightly reversed the judgment of the Jewish church by placing the prophets, both in use and in value, above the Law.

But let us not lose sight of the main point, that the prophets' canon was not set apart for the same reason as the Law. The latter was standardized by authority from without, the former by authority from within. Of course, this distinction must not be pressed too far. No doubt the latest candidates for admission to the prophetic canon were tested by their conformity with the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Neh. 8:26-31; II Kings 17:13. Paul in turn makes the Law transitory in its relation to Christ (Gal. 3:24).

Torah.<sup>6</sup> It simply means that, on account of a mass of unmoral ritual ordinances (cf. Mark 7:15), the moral appeal of the Law was less strong than that of the pre-exilic, and consequently prelegal, prophets. Therefore the writings of the latter may be said to have won their way to recognition by their inherent character, whereas the Torah was started on its canonical career by the promulgation of Deuteronomy under Josiah, and the solemn public imposition of the Priests' Code by Ezra.

Jesus ben-Sira (*ca.* 190 B.C.) was acquainted with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Book of the Twelve. But the collection was hardly complete at that time, for the roll of Isaiah and also that of Zechariah appear clearly to have received additions subsequently. Nevertheless the prophets' canon must have been substantially closed about 200 B.C., otherwise the Book of Daniel, which originated about 164 B.C., would doubtless have been included in the prophets' group. Dan. 9:2 cites Jer. 25:11 as in "the books," a designation which seems to be equivalent to "the Scriptures," and as such implies the completion of the second group. The closure of the prophets' canon was accompanied by the popular belief that prophecy had ceased and that no more prophets were to arise.

This latter belief had an important influence upon the selection of books for the third group—"the Writings." The employment of the Psalms in the liturgical service of the Second Temple naturally gave this book the first place in the third canon. Being a flower-gathering from a large field of Hebrew poesy, it contains ancient songs besides some that are from the Maccabean era. The first quotation from the Psalter accompanied by the formula of citation from Scripture occurs in I Macc. 7:16, a book that dates from about 90 B.C. Hence the admission of the Psalter to the rank of Scripture must have taken place between 200 and 100 B.C. The third canon began *ipso facto*. In Luke 24:44 the Psalter still does deputy service for the entire third group.

As stated above, a new principle of selection comes into play in the determination of the third canon, that of antiquity. Among

<sup>6</sup> There were misgivings regarding the Book of Jonah, doubtless because of its universalistic tendencies which were opposed to the exclusivism of the Law.

the Pharisees the problem resolved itself into the question, "What books defile the hands?"<sup>7</sup> Controversy centered chiefly about the admissibility of Ecclesiastes, Esther, and the Song of Songs, three books that hardly formed a part—certainly no undisputed part—of the Hebrew Bible during the time of Christ and the apostles. No doubt the content of these and other books of the third division had much to do with the objections raised against them by some Jewish rabbis. But the first question appears always to have been whether they originated within the prophetic period which was believed to have come to a close in the days of Ezra.

Men who desired to deliver an authoritative religious message to their times, therefore, resorted to the device of putting their thoughts into the mouths of ancient worthies who lived within the prophetic period. The Book of Daniel, in particular, is an example of this predated and pseudepigraphic literature. That its real character was understood by contemporaries is proved by the many imitations which followed in its wake. In a real sense, therefore, apocalyptic literature is the product of a situation created by the foreclosure of prophecy, and this in turn resulted from the formal completion of the prophetic canon. Those, however, who secured canonical recognition for the Book of Daniel can hardly have done so with the knowledge that it contained mainly history written in predictive form after the event. It doubtless was included through a misconception of its age and character.

In a deeper sense, even, is this true of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. Professing to have Solomon for their author these "rolls" had excellent chances for recognition in an uncritical age that laid supreme emphasis on antiquity and the prestige of famous names. Hence it came about that a collection of wedding songs, made in the third century B.C., was included under the mistaken belief that in them Solomon allegorically portrayed the love of Jahveh for Israel. In spite of strong objection from the school of Shammai, Ecclesiastes was finally included as a Solomonic book, though written about seven centuries after his time. On the other hand the book of ben-Sira, which, in comparison with these, richly

<sup>7</sup> Books that "defile the hands" are holy (*tabu*), i.e., canonical; ordinary books do not defile the hands. This curious phrase arose from the primitive belief that contact with things holy as well as unclean required ritual cleansing.



deserved to be included in the canon, was excluded because it honestly bore the name of its author, and thus was known to have originated after the limit of the prophetic period. The youngest of all Old Testament books is Esther. Measured by the standard of Christ its religious value is nil, for its conception of the Golden Rule is that of David Harum. But it went into the miscellaneous third canon under the semblance of antiquity and through its association with the Feast of Purim.

The content of the third canon seems to have become fixed with the definitive admission of the above-mentioned disputed books about the close of the first Christian century. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70 A.D. the Jewish rabbinate for some time had its headquarters at Jamnia (Jabne). There a synod is reported to have been held about 90 A.D. which formally approved of the view that Canticles and Ecclesiastes "defile the hands," i.e., are canonical. If so, this act closed the triple canon of the Old Testament.

For lack of space it has not been possible to include in this article the contributory evidence of the early Greek and Syriac versions, the testimony of ancient modes of making books, nor the modifying effect of a gradual change in theory regarding inspiration. For convenience of reference a condensed chronological table of the Hebrew canon is appended.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON

##### THE LAW

750 B.C.	Existing literary materials represented chiefly by the traditions of J and E; Book of the Covenant.
621	Public acceptance of Deuteronomy.
ca. 432	Promulgation of the Priests' Code by Ezra.
ca. 400	Union of JE <sup>D</sup> , D, and P, followed by closure of the first canon.

##### THE PROPHETS

ca. 400 B.C.	Deuteronomic edition of Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings becomes the basis of a new canon under the hands of priestly redactors.
400-250	Collections of prophecies compiled; acquired importance, perhaps, in devotional use.
250-200	Completion and closure of prophets' canon.

## THE WRITINGS

- ca.* 200 B.C. Collections of Psalms in use from about 450 B.C. are compiled into a larger collection.
- ca.* 150 Completion of the Psalter with the fourth and fifth books.
- ca.* 100 B.C.—1 A.D. Probable admission of Proverbs, Job, Ruth, Lamentations, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Daniel.
- ca.* 100 A.D. Admission, under protest, of the disputed books—Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Chronicles. Synod of Jamnia about 90 A.D. Closure of triple canon.

## A STUDY OF A PAULINE APOCALYPSE. I THESS. 4:13-18

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This passage, I Thess. 4:13-18, and two others, II Thess. 2:1-12 and I Cor. 15:35-58, furnish the closest approaches in the writings of Paul to the apocalyptic literature of the Jews, the best known examples of which are to be found in the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament and the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament. It is interesting to note that these three apocalyptic passages occur in three of the earlier Pauline epistles, and in none of the later epistles have we anything corresponding to them. Paul seems to have discussed the last things first. Jowett said that Paul preached to the Thessalonians "not the gospel of the cross of Christ, but of the coming of Christ," and it seems that this preaching had made the principal impression upon some minds in the Thessalonian church.

Why should Paul have put special emphasis upon the Second Advent in the beginning of his preaching? Lightfoot suggested at least four excellent reasons: (1) This doctrine was closely bound up with the fundamental fact of the gospel, the resurrection of Christ, and thus it naturally became associated with it in the primitive preaching. (2) It involved the doctrine of rewards for faithful service, and was therefore peculiarly adapted to strengthen the faith and the courage of the early Christians under persecution and trial. (3) The coming of the righteous Judge who would not overlook iniquity greatly heightened the effect of the call to repentance which always preceded the offer of the consolations of the gospel. (4) Many Jewish converts had been drawn into the Christian church by the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, and it was only in the promised splendors of the Second Advent that the messianic expectations would be adequately fulfilled.<sup>1</sup> The resurrected Jesus was coming again. The messianic

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 228.

king would then establish his kingdom. He would righteously judge all sinners. He would adequately reward all saints. These were main features in the primitive preaching; and they furnished it much of its impressiveness and power.

Renan,<sup>2</sup> Hausrath,<sup>3</sup> Shaw,<sup>4</sup> and others have told us that there was widespread alarm at just this time throughout the Roman Empire. Many terrifying rumors were abroad<sup>5</sup> and many prophesied the speedy dissolution of the then present order of things. The preaching of Paul in Thessalonica seems to have chimed in with this general state of foreboding. At this point the Christian faith confirmed the heathen auguries. New converts found that their old fears were well founded, and that the great and terrible Day of the Lord was indeed at hand. It was not strange that some were swept off their feet in a tumult of religious excitement at the thought of the immediate nearness of the end. How far was Paul responsible for the realistic vividness of their faith? What was his own belief concerning this thing?

Paul believed and preached that the advent of the Lord was very near. He told his converts that their whole duty was to serve the living God and to wait for the coming of his Son from heaven (I Thess. 1:9, 10). He promised them that if they would wait for the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord would confirm them unto the end, that they might be unreprouvable in the day of the Lord's coming (I Cor. 1:7, 8). He prophesied that when the last trump should sound, announcing the coming of the Judge and the King, they should not all sleep, but they should all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye (I Cor. 15:51). He wrote to the Thessalonians, "The Lord himself shall descend from heavens with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (I Thess. 4:16, 17).

Paul agreed with the other apostles at this point. James

<sup>2</sup> *L'Antichrist*, 321-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Time of the Apostles*, III, 213-15.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pauline Epistles*, 36-38.

<sup>5</sup> Tac., *Ann.* xii and xiv; Dio Cass. lx. 35; Suet. Claud. xlv.

wrote, "Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. . . . Establish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord is at hand. Murmur not, brethren, one against another, that ye be not judged: behold, the judge standeth before the doors" (5:7-9). Peter declared, "The end of all things is at hand" (I Pet. 4:7). John wrote last of all, "He who testifieth these things saith, Yea, I come quickly" (Rev. 22:20), and again, "Little children, it is the last hour: and as ye have heard that antichrist cometh, even now have there arisen many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last hour" (I John 2:18). The apostolic preaching seems to have been consistent and of one accord in this matter. The most probable explanation of this fact is that they all believed that they had "the word of the Lord" (I Thess. 4:15) concerning it. They thought that they represented the Lord's thought and teaching. They had had his promise of a speedy return. Paul may have heard from them what the Lord had said on the subject. He may have had this saying of Jesus lying in manuscript before him as he wrote to the Thessalonians, as Ewald suggested.<sup>6</sup> He may have believed that he had had a special revelation concerning these things.<sup>7</sup> In any case he is ready to claim the Lord's authority for what he has to say at this point. Since his teaching agrees with that of the pillar apostles, James and Cephas and John, it seems to us most likely that they all go back to some remembered or recorded saying or sayings of Jesus for their all-sufficient source of information.<sup>8</sup>

There are some indications that Paul modified his views somewhat in his later life. We have already noticed that after these first three epistles he does not return to this theme. In his later epistles he lays the emphasis on the realities of present religious experience rather than upon the uncertainties of future happenings. In Rom. 11:25 Paul suggests that the fulness of the Gentiles must intervene before the nation of Israel would be saved. In Phil. 1:21-24 Paul clearly contemplates the possibility of his

<sup>6</sup> *Sendschr.* 48.

<sup>7</sup> Chrysostom, Theodoret, Olshausen, DeWette, Lünemann, Zöckler, Alford, Ellicott, Dods, Godet, Findlay, Lightfoot, Milligan, Moffat.

<sup>8</sup> Calvin, Ewald, Pelt, Weiss, Weizsäcker, Resch, Ropes, O. Holtzmann, von Soden, Hofmann, Schott, Stähelin.

own death before the advent of the Lord. In II Tim. 4:6 he is sure that the time of his departure is at hand, but that even if he die the Lord will save him unto the heavenly kingdom (II Tim. 4:18).

Evidently the apostolic expectation of the immediate advent was disappointed. We know now that it was a mistaken expectation. If it rested upon the teaching of the Lord then we must conclude either that it was a mistaken interpretation of his teaching, or what seems to be more likely, that Jesus himself was as uncertain of the time of the advent as his apostles were and shared with them his hope that it would not be long delayed. We know that he told them plainly that he did not know what the day and hour would be (Mark 13:32), but he may have hoped and believed that it would be soon; and the disciples would be apt to credit him with infallible information upon all these things as well as in the realm of spiritual truth.

There has been a revival of interest in the apocalyptic literature of the Jews among modern scholars and it is generally agreed that this literature has had more influence upon our New Testament than was formerly supposed. The Apocalypse of John does not stand alone in the literature of its times as it does in our New Testament. There are a number of other Apocalypses in existence in whole or in part which belong to the same period of development in Hebrew history, and the study of these has been very helpful in the interpretation and the understanding of the apocalyptic portions of the New Testament. The Ascension of Isaiah, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Assumption of Moses, and the Book of Enoch are all apocalyptic in character and may have influenced the thought of the New Testament writers in many particulars.

Jude, the brother of James and of Jesus, quotes in his epistle from both the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Enoch. If Jude had read these books and quoted from them, it would seem altogether likely that Jesus had read them and it is possible that he quoted from them too. The words "when the Son of Man

shall sit on the throne of his glory" may have been taken directly by Jesus from the Book of Enoch (62:3). In Enoch 69:27 we read, "The sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man." Jesus seems to be appropriating this phraseology when he says, "He hath committed all judgment unto the Son . . . because he is the Son of Man" (John 5:22, 27). The leading English authority upon this apocalyptic literature, R. H. Charles, thinks that phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from the Book of Enoch are to be found not only in the Epistle of Jude and the Apocalypse of John, but also in the Gospels according to John and Matthew and Luke, and in the Book of Acts, and in the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Ephesians, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>9</sup>

If it be true that the influence of the Book of Enoch and of the other apocalyptic literature can be traced through nearly the whole of our New Testament it becomes extremely probable that Jesus and Jude and John and Paul and the other apostles had considerable respect for this literature and that their eschatological conceptions were largely clothed in the imagery furnished from these sources. If so, all of this imagery belongs to the current Jewish theology and phraseology; and its usefulness has passed away with the times to which it was adapted and the peoples to whom it was at first addressed. Then the oriental and apocalyptic imagery of such passages as this in the Epistle to the Thessalonians has no message to our day.

We learned long ago to look for the central truth illustrated in each parable of our Lord and not to run into exegetical absurdities by trying to find a meaning for each minor detail used in the development of that truth. The same principle ought to be applied to the interpretation of the apocalyptic passages in the New Testament. We are not interested in the imaginative details which appealed to the oriental mind two thousand years ago. Here in the Occident we look only for the spiritual lesson these details were intended to make impressive and prominent. That lesson may abide, though the vehicle of its first transmission may have belonged to the rhetorical and the homiletical methods in

<sup>9</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 708.

vogue in a particular age and their usefulness may long have passed away.

Is there any good reason why we may not treat these apocalyptic passages in the same way in which Peter treated the apocalyptic details of the prophecy of Joel in his day? There was that extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, and Peter stood up to explain the matter to the assembled multitude and he said, "This is that which hath been spoken through the prophet Joel:

And it shall be in the last days, saith God,  
I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh: . . . .  
And I will show wonders in the heaven above,  
And signs on the earth beneath;  
Blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke:  
The sun shall be turned into darkness,  
And the moon into blood" (Acts 2:16-20).

Had any of these things happened at Pentecost? Not as far as our record shows. There had been no blood or vapor of smoke. The sun had not been turned into darkness. The moon had not been turned into blood. What had happened at Pentecost? The Spirit had been poured out upon the disciples. That was the all-important thing in the prophecy; and Peter boldly claims that the prophecy of Joel has been fulfilled at Pentecost, even though all these accompaniments foretold in the prophecy had failed.

Suppose we apply the same principle to the interpretation of this passage in Thessalonians. What is the central truth set forth in this paragraph? That neither death nor life can separate the Christian from the Lord. When the Lord comes to reign we shall be ever with the Lord. That truth abides forevermore. The apocalyptic accompaniments may fail as completely as the prophesied accompaniments failed at Pentecost, and yet the truth will be vindicated as fully as it was at Pentecost when all who are in Christ meet their Lord to live with him forevermore. There is nothing but comfort in this revelation. Paul evidently intended that all he said on this subject should minister to the spiritual comfort of those to whom he wrote. He concludes, "Wherefore comfort one another with these words" (I Thess. 4:18).

The result of his preaching and writing on this subject seems



to have been other than that he had intended. The church at Thessalonica seems to have been the first Christian church to be visited with one of those eschatological excitements which have recurred so many times in later history. Some of its members believed that the Day of the Lord was near at hand, and in the tenseness of their expectation of that great event they lived in a state of religious exaltation that precluded attention to the ordinary duties of life. They were disposed to quit work of every kind and to depend upon charity if need were for the supply of their daily wants while they devoted themselves to prayer and meditation or theological discussion. Their assemblies became excited and disorderly. Some were disposed to panic and some to pious orgies. Some were being shaken from their reason, as is always the case in such circumstances; and the whole community was being disturbed and thrown into confusion. Probably only a small portion of the church members were carried away into extremes of idleness and disorder, but religious wildfire spreads rapidly if it once gets a good start; and as soon as Paul heard of this deplorable result of his teaching he took most energetic measures to correct all misconceptions and to strengthen the discipline of the church.

This history has repeated itself again and again. Under this apocalyptic preaching people have been wrought up into great nervous and religious excitement. Neither the immediate nor the permanent results have seemed helpful or wholesome. The latest and largest illustration of this fact in our American history was what has been called the Millerite movement of 1843. William Miller was a man with only a common-school education. An avowed atheist in early life, at the age of thirty-four he became a Baptist. For years he studied history and the Scriptures and at last became convinced that the Second Coming of the Lord would be about the year 1843. He believed himself to be divinely led into the ministry and into the public proclamation of the result of his researches. Between 1833 and 1843 he gave three thousand two hundred lectures on the fulfilment of the prophecies at the latter date. Tens of thousands of people were convinced by his arguments and appeals.

Litch of the Methodist church and Himes of the Christian Connection joined with Miller the Baptist in writing and preaching and holding camp meetings in which realistic pictures of the coming judgments were portrayed with such power that multitudes were stirred to intense enthusiasm. When the prophesied dates drew near, great excitement prevailed in many places. Property was sold at great sacrifice or was given away. Farmers refused to harvest their crops, the great catastrophe being so near at hand that it seemed like an evidence of unfaith to make preparation for a time that would never be. Some of the Adventists thought the end of all things would come early in that year, 1843. Different dates were decided upon, and one after another went by and nothing happened in accordance with their expectation. On October 6 William Miller wrote: "If Christ does not come within twenty or twenty-five days, I shall feel twice the disappointment I did in the spring."

October 22 was the day upon which the most intelligent of the Adventists had fixed for the final testing and triumph of their hopes. Some prayed incessantly for weeks before that date. Some went out into the open fields or upon high places to greet their Lord when he appeared with a shout, with the voice of an archangel, and with the trump of God in the sky. The day passed quietly as other days; and more or less slowly the deluded people went back to their daily tasks. Many reviewed their calculations and revised them in order to bring the day of the final catastrophe to some later date, and in this way their expectations were kept alive until 1847. Finally all concluded that they had been mistaken, and Miller voiced the conclusion of most of them when he said, "Were I to live my life over again, with the same evidence that I then had, to be honest with God and man I should have to do as I have done. I confess my error, and acknowledge my disappointments; yet I still believe that the Day of the Lord is near, even at the door." He died in that mistaken expectation.

It was a mistaken expectation in the days of the apostles. It was a mistaken expectation in the days of the Millerites. Surely the centuries ought to have taught us wisdom at this point. These apocalypses have no authority in them to settle either the dates

or the accompanying phenomena of the last times. Those who have trusted in them have had their expectations falsified in the event again and again. Each new generation, however, is apt to forget the experiences of its predecessors, and there are many pious souls in every generation who know nothing at all of past church history and who are ready to believe that any doctrine plausibly presented as with scriptural authority is divine in its origin and not to be questioned in its present-day application.

It was my fortune to pass through one local religious excitement with many features in common with those occasioned by Paul's eschatological preaching at Thessalonica. I was living in the state of California and not far from Oakland and San Francisco when the Doomsealer excitement took place. Mrs. Woodworth had been holding revival meetings with great success for several months in the city of Oakland. The meetings had been moved from place to place in order to obtain larger accommodations, and at last a huge tent was erected, capable of holding eight thousand people. Trances and visions became a common occurrence in these meetings, and the tent was crowded at every service, many being attracted by curiosity to see these trance phenomena. Mrs. Woodworth and her followers ascribed all of these things to "the power," as they called it, and they had implicit confidence in its divine origin.

On January 25, 1890, George A. Erickson, a Norwegian laboring man, had a vision of the destruction of all the San Francisco Bay cities by a great earthquake and tidal wave, and the Lord revealed to him the date of that destruction, April 14, 1890. The proclamation of this vision created intense excitement, which was increased almost daily by revelations to other prophets and prophetesses. Mrs. Boillot had a vision of the swallowing up of San Francisco and Oakland in a tidal wave. Her little child, only two years and a half old, was under "the power" twice all night long, and when she awakened she seemed terribly frightened and cried all day long that "she did not want to fall into the water that was all around everywhere." John Kelly in vision saw himself walking along Market Street, San Francisco, when suddenly everything began to quake and men and women rushed screaming

from the buildings, and the walls fell out, and with a great roar the earth split open and swallowed up everything. Mrs. Gifford in a vision saw the whole country about San Francisco sinking and she screamed and fell into her husband's arms in a faint. When she recovered she claimed that the Lord had revealed to her that the destruction would take place April 14, 1890, at 4:45 P.M.

Edward F. Maggart, a lad of eighteen years, while lying under "the power" in the big tent, saw the destruction of the Bay cities and then the spirit carried him to Lake Michigan where he saw the destruction of Milwaukee and Chicago. Prophet Erickson, the original Doomsealer, kept well in advance of the others with his revelations. One Sunday afternoon at his own home the Lord showed him the map of the world in five divisions, America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Then the Lord showed him the five wounds in his own body, where he was pierced and suffered for each of these parts of the world. "He pointed to the wounds in his two hands and two feet and his side, with the blood running out of them for these five parts of the world. The blood was able to save them all." On January 27, Erickson had a vision of the destruction of Chicago and Milwaukee. "Then he showed me the great city of Chicago and its railways, and that it would sink in the earthquake, and the waters of Lake Michigan would flow over it. There should be heard no more whistle of the cars therein; no more voice of man; the name of Chicago even should be heard no more. The Lord then showed me the line of the Northwestern Railway from Chicago to Milwaukee. He showed me that Milwaukee would sink like Chicago, and in the same great earthquake and that Lake Michigan would cover it the same as Chicago."

Erickson's visions extended farther still and he prophesied the future history and destiny of most of the nations of Europe. However his interest centered principally upon the destruction of the Californian cities, and the most of the Doomsealers had revelations concerning this alone. About sixty of them in all had this event revealed to them in vision. Hundreds had visions concerning other things. Still others who came under "the power" were assured that what Erickson and the other prophets had said was true. The great catastrophe was to be preceded by one

week of terrible winds, destructive hail-storms, dense fogs, and earthquakes. As this week approached, the faithful set about the task of warning all the people. Evangelist Bennett mounted his bicycle and rode up and down the city streets and the country roads, crying aloud, "Flee! Flee! Flee! Flee to the mountains!" Others rang doorbells and left their message of the coming doom. Others frequented the railroad and ferry stations, calling upon sinner and saint alike to "Beware!" and to "Prepare!" for the day of destruction now close at hand.

The warning week had none of the predicted physical phenomena in it, but when April 14 arrived, camps of the elect had been established at Santa Rosa, Saint Helena, Vacaville, Cazadero, and many other points in the mountains; and these camps were filled with those who had fled from the destruction of the cities in the plain. No one will ever know how many left for the East at about that time in order to be on the safe side and out of harm's way. I was in a college faculty, fifty miles away from San Francisco, when these things occurred; and many refugees passed through our city on their way to the Santa Cruz mountains. One of our students, a Sophomore, joined their company; and we had to discipline him afterward for leaving school without permission. April 14, 1890, was a day like other days. The Doomsealers came back to their homes and former occupations after a time and the world went on as usual, except that Erickson was declared insane and was shut up in the Stockton Insane Asylum. Sixteen years later, on April 18, 1906, San Francisco had its visitation of earthquake and fire. No one foretold that day of doom. It came unexpectedly, like a thief in the night, as the Day of the Lord always comes. Its definite date had never been set down beforehand in any authoritative calendar.

Paul always believed that the proper attitude to maintain toward the Second Coming of the Lord was not that of an excited anticipation of an immediate catastrophe but that of a faithful performance of daily duties and quiet waiting for the fulness of the times. He wrote to the Thessalonians in this First Epistle that they had turned from idols unto God to do two things, to serve the living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven

(1:10). Active service and patient waiting were better than any amount of fuming and fretting and over-haste and zeal. Paul never allowed this apocalyptic expectation to disturb the serenity of his faith or the orderliness of his private or public life or his diligent pursuit of his present duty. He had the spirit of St. Francis de Sales who was playing a game of whist when someone asked him what he would do if Christ were at hand, and who replied, "I would finish the game; for his glory I began it." He had the spirit of that old Puritan who when the Dark Day came unexpectedly upon them there in New England and someone in great alarm moved that the assembly should at once adjourn, inasmuch as it would seem that the Judgment Day had come, arose in his place and said, "If this be indeed the Judgment Day, it cannot find us better employed in any respect than in quietly doing our duty. I move that the candles be lighted."

He had the spirit of that other Puritan, Parson Carter, of whom we are told that he once called unexpectedly upon a member of his church who was hard at work in a tanyard, for he was a tanner. When the minister tapped him on the shoulder, the man turned in surprise and apologized for being so employed. Then the parson said, "Let Christ when he cometh find me so doing." "What," said the man, looking down at his dirty hands and clothes, "doing this?" "Yes," said the parson, "faithfully fulfilling the duties of my calling." John Wesley had the spirit of Paul. A lady once said to him, "If you knew that the Lord would come at twelve o'clock tomorrow night, how would you spend the intervening time?" The tradition is that John Wesley answered, "I would spend the intervening time just as I intend to spend it. I would preach tonight at Gloucester, and again tomorrow morning. After that, I would ride to Tewkesbury, preach in the afternoon, and meet the Society in the evening. I should then go to friend Martin's house, as he expects to entertain me. I would converse, pray with the family, retire to my room at ten o'clock, commend myself to my Heavenly Father, go sound to sleep, and wake up in glory." That was the Pauline attitude in this matter. Paul believed in the speedy advent of the Lord from heaven; but he went about his work every day just the same. There

never would have been any disturbance of the orderly life of the Thessalonian church or of any later church if all who believed in the close approach of the end of all things had held that belief in the same sane and sensible fashion as the apostle Paul.

We formulate our conclusions from this study as follows: In the beginning of his ministry Paul preached the same eschatology as the other apostles. In all probability they thought that they had a sufficient warrant for their expectation of the speedy Second Advent of the Lord in their memory of the sayings of Jesus himself. We believe that Paul and they were mistaken in this expectation. After nineteen centuries of waiting we know that they were mistaken, as all others have been, who expected this Advent in their generation or in their century. We think that it is wholly to Paul's credit that he held to his doctrine of the immediate Second Advent with such sanity of conduct and such common-sense in personal behavior and public exhortation. We judge that the apocalyptic imagery in which Jesus and Paul and John clothed their eschatology was influenced largely by the current apocalypses of their day. This imagery is nothing but the drapery appropriate to that time and place, and all that we are interested in today is the body of truth from which this drapery may be stripped, as no longer useful but rather as hindering our perception of the things that abide. What was helpful to the oriental of two thousand years ago may be harmful to us. Great harm has resulted from the attempt to interpret literally apocalyptic symbols and to deduce doctrines from the details of apocalyptic imagery. Many of these were pure poetry in the beginning. All of them may be disregarded in the Christian life and activity of today.

## THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

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The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs belong to that type of Jewish literature which is known as apocalyptic. The heyday of this type was the troublous period extending from about 175 B.C. to the end of the first century of our era. During this period the kaleidoscopic changes in the political relations of the Jewish people, with their accompanying sufferings and disappointments, caused the production of that unique literature among which the book under consideration is classed. This article will endeavor to set forth the main facts concerning a work which is one of the most interesting of the whole group composing the type.

The title under which the book is generally known is the one which appears above, although it is possible that the earlier title was simply "Patriarchs." The longer caption admirably fits the contents of the work, which purports to be the dying commands of the sons of Jacob given to their children. Each testament is presented in a form similar to that of the others, a triple division being chosen. In the first division the supposed speaker gives a brief account of his life in which special prominence is given to some virtue or vice which has been exemplified in his life. These historical sketches are based on biblical material, which, however, is quite freely treated, and additional matter is used. The second part of the testament consists of exhortations based on the experience set forth; virtues are to be followed and vices avoided. These sections contain some lofty and admirable ethical teaching. In the concluding section the patriarch proceeds to outline in a prophetic manner the future of his children, and in each case eulogizes Judah and Levi, emphasizing and insisting on their high position among their brethren.

Until recent years the work was a sealed book so far as any understanding of its real meaning and significance was concerned. This



was due to the failure to perceive and discriminate different elements in the text. At one time it seemed as though this misunderstanding were to be removed, but adverse criticism prevented the realization of the promise. There are few books of its period whose fortunes are more interesting and concerning which scholarly opinion has been more varied.

Whatever popularity the book enjoyed immediately after its writing, it seems certain that after the first century of the Christian era it was no longer held in high estimation. For a few centuries there are scattered allusions, but evidently small use was made of it, and even this was on the part of the Christians rather than of the Jews. This is in keeping with the general fate of the Jewish apocalyptic writings, for whose preservation we are almost entirely indebted to the Christian church. It was during this period of obscurity that interpolations were made by the hands of Christians which were later to be the cause of much difficulty and misunderstanding.

After centuries of neglect and oblivion, the Testaments were resuscitated by Robert Grosseteste, the great reforming bishop of Lincoln, who flourished in the thirteenth century. In some way he obtained a manuscript of the work from Greece and translated it into Latin. His translation attained great popularity, and from it many versions were made for the different continental peoples. Grosseteste seems not to have doubted the genuineness and integrity of the work, and considered it to be a production of the sons of Jacob. So certain was he of this that he charged the Jewish people with the suppression of the book in order to conceal the prophecies which relate to Jesus.

This view held sway until the critical acumen of Reformation scholars saw its absurdity, and the result was immediate rejection. But even then the question of integrity was not raised and the consensus of opinion was that the work was a forgery on the part of the Christians. For four hundred years this view obtained, and during that time but a single scholar proposed a different one. It was in 1714 that Grabe advanced the theory that the work was a Jewish production with Christian interpolations. Corrodi opposed the view with such success that he was followed by the majority

of scholars, and the question of integrity was either not raised or lightly passed over.

The rejection of the Grabian hypothesis was followed by a period of conflict and controversy as to the meaning of the book. During this time widely differing opinions were held. Nitzsch claimed that a Christian Jew of Alexandria who had been influenced by Essenism was the author. Ritschl, on the contrary, said that it was written by a Gentile Christian, basing his contention mainly on a chapter<sup>1</sup> which is now generally admitted to be a Christian interpolation. Later, however, he abandoned this view and supported a Nazarene authorship. Kayser strongly opposed the first view of Ritschl and held the book to be a product of the Ebionites. His position was examined by Vorstman who repudiated the theory of Ebionitic influence and assigned the authorship to a Gentile Christian. The general result was that the work was considered to be a Christian product, but there was difference of opinion on the matter of Gentile or Jew.

Further than this it did not seem possible to go by the methods then in use. But in 1884 the criticism of the book received a new impetus at the hands of Schnapp<sup>2</sup> who brought from its obscurity the hypothesis of Grabe and made a more detailed study from that point of view. The results of his work were to show that the original form of the book was a collection of biographical details respecting the twelve patriarchs, and hortatory sections on the basis of these. Later a Jewish writer reworked the Testaments and made additions of prophetic and apocalyptic material. A final modification was afterward made by a Christian editor who is responsible for the Christian elements.

Some years after the appearance of Schnapp's work the hypothesis on which he, and Grabe before him, had proceeded received strong confirmation from Mr. F. C. Conybeare,<sup>3</sup> who showed that when the Armenian version was made many of the passages containing Christian teaching were wanting. Since that time much work has been done on the Testaments, and in 1908 Mr. R. H.

<sup>1</sup> Test. Benjamin, chap. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Test. der zwölf Patr. untersucht.*

<sup>3</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1893), 375-98.

Charles added still further to the obligation under which he had already placed scholars by publishing two splendid volumes, one containing the Greek text and the other an introduction, translation, and commentary. Charles has done his work excellently and has shown clearly the Jewish character of the work, with insight and patience separating the interpolations. As a result of this comparatively recent study, the book is now generally considered by scholars to consist of a Jewish groundwork, including about eleven-twelfths of the whole, the Jewish additions which form the greater part of the remainder, and the Christian interpolations which, while not of great bulk, are of considerable importance.

An examination of the book to ascertain the date and authorship leads to the conclusion that the work was written in the second century B.C. by a person of Pharisaic tendencies. Charles says: "I have with some hesitation come to the conclusion that the groundwork is the work of a single writer of the Pharisaic school."<sup>4</sup> This view is supported by the author's attitude toward legal observance and temple ritual, as well as by his messianism. The date of the main body of the work is probably between the years 109 and 107 B.C. The references to the intimate relations of priesthood and kingly position fit no other time so well as the Maccabean period from Simon on. Moreover in the Testament of Levi<sup>5</sup> it is stated that the priesthood is to receive a new name. It will be recalled that the Maccabean priest-kings revived the title of Melchizedek and were styled "priests of the most High God."<sup>6</sup> In the verse following there is the added reference to the prophetic office which the priest-king shall assume. Upon only one man among the Jews was this triple honor conferred—John Hyrcanus.<sup>7</sup> That Hyrcanus is here meant seems indisputable, and the inference is that the work was written in his lifetime. In view of the laudation of the Maccabean dynasty it can also be said that it was written before his break with the Pharisees. For closer definitions of the

<sup>4</sup> *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. liv. The hesitation is concerning singleness of authorship, not the type.

<sup>5</sup> Test. Levi 8:4.

<sup>6</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* xvi:6, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Josephus, *War* i:2, 8.

date we rely on the references to the destruction of Samaria,<sup>8</sup> and to the Bath Qol.<sup>9</sup> If this latter is the occasion mentioned by Josephus<sup>10</sup> in connection with Hyrcanus, it will bring us to the years mentioned above as the highly probable date of our book. The Jewish additions reflect a later date and are probably from the period 70-40 B.C.

If these conclusions as to authorship and date are accepted, they practically settle the place of composition and the language in which the work was originally written. It can scarcely be doubted that Palestine was the place and Hebrew the original language. This latter statement is well borne out by an examination of the linguistic peculiarities of the Greek text.

In a consideration of the content of the work three chief interests emerge: the eschatology, the influence of the Testaments upon the New Testament writers, and the ethical teaching. This is probably a climactic order of interest and they will be thus considered.

The treatment of the eschatology will include only those ideas which differ in some respects from those which are more or less common to the other Jewish eschatological thought. A rather curious point is that in the groundwork of the book the Messiah is represented as proceeding from the tribe of Levi instead of the more general representation that he should come from Judah. This view is not confined to an isolated passage; rather it finds expression in widely separated portions of the work. In the Jewish additions written long after the original breach of the Maccabees and the Pharisees we find that the messianic hope again centers in the tribe of Judah. So then we have the situation that for several decades the eyes of the expectant Jews looked to the priestly tribe for the one who should realize their hopes. It is not hard to see here a reflection of the time of the Maccabean priest-kings. Nor is one surprised to find in the functions ascribed to the Messiah a blending of the priestly and kingly dignities and duties.

The Testaments contain a most interesting passage related to the idea of Antichrist. It appears in one of the Jewish additions:<sup>11</sup> "For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your

<sup>8</sup> Test. Levi 7:2.

<sup>9</sup> Test. Levi 18:6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ant.* xiii:10, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Test. Dan 5:6.

prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire to attend constantly on the sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord." Of the importance of this reference Charles says: "It is the most ancient authority we at present possess for the view which connected the tribe of Dan with the Antichrist."<sup>12</sup> In this connection it will be remembered that the Old and New Testaments are in no way flattering to the tribe of Dan, which is represented as being prone to idolatry, and in the Chronicler's account no Levitical cities are chosen within its borders.<sup>13</sup> In the Apocalypse of John the tribe of Dan does not appear among the other tribes as contributing to the number of the sealed. Later definite connections of Antichrist with Dan were made, but the Testaments contain the first known suggestion.

Regarding the resurrection, it is to be one of both the righteous and the unrighteous. Chronological precedence in the resurrection is to be given to the Old Testament patriarchs: The messianic kingdom is of eternal duration and will be established on the earth. Judgment will be passed upon all, Israel taking precedence and the Gentiles following. The standard by which Israel will be judged is the conduct of the best representatives of the Gentiles.<sup>14</sup>

Only the briefest review of the relationship of the work to the New Testament can be given. For a full discussion of the subject the reader is referred to the presentation of Charles.<sup>15</sup> That writer lays no small emphasis on this point; some think he has overstated it. The facts are these: There are ninety-two points of contact between the Testaments and the New Testament. These are scattered through eighteen of the books and range from twenty in Matthew to one each in Colossians, I Thessalonians, and I Peter. In extent they vary from a few words or a short phrase to a considerable clause. In accuracy they extend from verbal identity to little more than mere reminiscence. A few illustrations will help to present the matter:

Matt. 22:37-39: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all . . . thy soul . . . and thy neighbor as thyself.

Test. Dan 5:3: Love the Lord through all your life, and one another with a true heart.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 128.

<sup>13</sup> I Chron. 6:61 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Test. Benjamin 10:10.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, lxxviii-xcii.

Matt. 18:15: If thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone.

Matt. 18:35: Unless ye each one forgive his brother from the heart.

Luke 17:3: If thy brother sin, rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him.

Matt. 25:35, 36: For I was hungry and ye gave me meat, . . . I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came unto me.

Luke 10:19, 20: I have given you power to tread . . . upon all the power of the enemy and nothing shall in any wise hurt you. Howbeit in this rejoice not that the spirits are subject to you.

Rom. 1:32: Not only do the same things but also have pleasure in them that practise them.

II Cor. 6:14, 15: What communion hath light with darkness and what concord hath Christ with Beliar?

Test. Gad 6:3: Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him; . . . and if he repent and confess, forgive him.

Test. Joseph 1:5, 6: I was beset with hunger and the Lord himself nourished me, . . . I was sick and the Lord visited me, I was in prison and my God showed favor unto me.

Test. Simeon 6:6: Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot and men shall rule over wicked spirits.

Test. Levi 18:12: And he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits.

Test. Asher 6:2: For they both practise the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that practise it.

Test. Levi 19:1: Choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar.

These comparisons will serve to indicate the relationship between this work and the New Testament. It is not too much to say that the cumulative force of this and the remaining evidence points strongly to a real influence of the earlier upon the later work. But to define that influence is a difficult task. A claim of direct documentary dependence is not warranted by the evidence. Whether Jesus and Paul were personally conversant with the contents of the work, or whether these thoughts had passed out into a common stock in a more or less fixed form, and from there were drawn and used, cannot be finally decided. The striking verbal coincidences, however, seem to point in the direction of a personal knowledge of the contents themselves.

It is in the ethical teachings of the book that the greatest interest for modern readers centers. The interest is twofold. The high quality of the moral ideal which is set forth has intrinsic value. One is able to find much that is not only admirably expressed, but

which possesses such inherent worth that it is deserving of much attention. Our modern ethical ideals, in spite of splendid progress, are in many respects equaled by the high standard which meets us here. But of no less interest than the moral ideal is the light which the book throws on the question of the historical development of Jewish ethics. It is not overstating the matter to say that we have here a document of the first importance in bridging the gulf between the ethics of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament.

The thought is fairly common that the Jewish religion in post-exilic times and in the days of Jesus had entirely degenerated into a rigid externalism from which practically all the religious spirit had been crushed. That there was tremendous overemphasis on external observance and ritual is undoubtedly true. But when we insist that there was nothing more than this it is quite possible that we are in the wrong. It is right at this point that modern Jewish scholarship makes its protest that such a view is based on a partial consideration of the facts. That they have some ground for such a protest is evident from the teachings of the Testaments.

Since the book was written by a man of Pharisaic tendencies, one would expect to see reflected an intense devotion to legal observance. Nor will one be disappointed, for again and again emphasis is laid upon the necessity of such observance. This, however, is not the deeper or primary interest of the writer. It is upon the moral aspects of the law, its real significance, its spirit, and not merely its letter, that the stress is placed. The following words sound strange on Pharisaic lips, yet it is undoubtedly from such they fall. "Make your hearts good before the Lord, and your ways straight before men, and ye shall find grace before the Lord and men."<sup>16</sup> "Let all your works be done in order *with good intent* in the fear of God."<sup>17</sup> The ideal life is "wisdom in the fear of God," and this "naught can take away save the blindness of ungodliness which comes from sin." "Flee evil doing and cleave to goodness and love. He that hath a pure mind in love looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication, for he hath no defilement in his

<sup>16</sup> Test. Simeon 5:2.

<sup>17</sup> Test. Naph. 2:9.

heart because the spirit of God resteth upon him.”<sup>18</sup> “Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust being reproved not of another, but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh upon the inclination.”<sup>19</sup> “The spirit of truth testifieth all things and accuseth all, and the sinner is burnt up by his own heart and cannot raise his face to the judge.”<sup>20</sup> It is surely not the Pharisaism of common conception that puts these words into the mouths of the various patriarchs.

The Testaments make frequent reference to the common vices of humanity and strongly reprove them, often exalting the corresponding virtue in its place. The following citations fairly represent the teaching: “Beware of the spirit of deceit and of envy. For envy ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him . . . not to do any good thing. . . . I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.”<sup>21</sup> “If ye drink wine in gladness be ye moderate with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and transgressions of the commandments of God and ye perish before your time.”<sup>22</sup> “Unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and anger, and love truth and long-suffering, ye shall perish. For anger is blindness and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth.”<sup>23</sup> “For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan . . . in all things unto men’s death, but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the salvation of men. Hatred, therefore, is evil.”<sup>24</sup>

These citations would in themselves show that, even if Pharisaism was self-centered and complacent in the working-out of righteousness by the law, clear currents of ethical thought and teaching did not fail to make their way through the turbid waters of the main stream. But there are clearer indications yet that when

<sup>18</sup> Test. Benj. 8:1-2.

<sup>19</sup> Test. Gad 5:3.

<sup>20</sup> Test. Judah 20:5.

<sup>21</sup> Test. Simeon 3:1-4.

<sup>22</sup> Test. Judah 16:2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Test. Dan 2:1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Test. Gad 4:7-5:1.



Jesus came to give his great message to men, he found not a little in the morality and religion of his people ready to his hand, and this of a type vastly higher than is generally assumed.

It is customary to think of Judaism as essentially particularistic, and to feel that there was a distinctly retrograde movement from the universalistic outlook of some of the prophets and of the sages. There is probably much truth in this; but again, it is not all the truth. That the universalistic vision and thought of Jesus goes far beyond anything which had preceded him may be affirmed. The Testaments, however, show that the teachings of the prophets and sages were not entirely forgotten amid the national yearnings and strivings, and that Jesus was not altogether without a prepared soil for his larger truth. There was particularism, and that of an aggravated type, at the time at which the Testaments were written, as is evidenced by the Book of Jubilees in which the Gentiles were excluded from all hope. But the spirit of the Testaments is widely different. In some of the writer's words one can hear no faint echo of the best sayings of the prophets on the subject. Nor need one be surprised at this, for it is the logical outcome of his deeply ethical thought that salvation was obtained on the ground of character rather than of legal observance or privilege. It will be of interest to exhibit the teachings on the universalistic side.

"The Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in his tender mercies forever,"<sup>25</sup> and shall "establish a new priesthood to all the Gentiles."<sup>26</sup> Moreover, he will "reveal his salvation to all Gentiles,"<sup>27</sup> and "will save Israel and all the Gentiles,"<sup>28</sup> and "every race of men."<sup>29</sup> The last temple is to be more glorious than the first, and "the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there and all the Gentiles,"<sup>30</sup> and "His name shall be in every place of Israel and among the Gentiles."<sup>31</sup> There is a remarkable passage<sup>32</sup> in which angelic protection (probably that of Michael) is extended to the Gentiles as well as to Israel: "The angel who intercedeth for the

<sup>25</sup> Test. Levi 4:4.

<sup>26</sup> Test. Levi 8:14.

<sup>27</sup> Test. Benj. 10:5.

<sup>28</sup> Test. Asher 7:3

<sup>29</sup> Test. Levi 2:11.

<sup>30</sup> Test. Benj. 9:2.

<sup>31</sup> Test. Dan 6:7.

<sup>32</sup> Test. Levi 3:7.

nation of Israel and for all the righteous." It is true that the blessings to the Gentiles are to come through Israel, but the display of this teaching—which could be largely augmented—will cause serious questioning as to the unbroken particularism of Jesus' day and the times immediately preceding it.

There remain in this ethical teaching two matters of special interest, viz., the references to love for God and for neighbor, and to forgiveness. The passages have been quoted above in the paragraph dealing with the relationship between the Patriarchs and the New Testament, but they call for further notice. It will be remembered that the Lukan account of the pronouncement of Jesus on the two great commandments represents the answer as coming from a scribe. Waiving the question of harmonization with the other Synoptics, it will be noticed that the commandments of love for God and love for men are represented as joined and current in scribal circles in Jesus' day, and the Testaments support the view. "Love the Lord and your neighbor."<sup>33</sup> "Love the Lord through all your life and one another with a pure heart."<sup>34</sup> "I loved the Lord, likewise every man with all my heart."<sup>35</sup> These are the expressions of the book on the matter, and this is the first time in literature (so far as the writer is aware) that these two commandments, which are separate in the legal codes, are joined together as one. Just what connotation is to be given to the word "neighbor," which in the Old Testament is restricted to Israelites, but in the New Testament has the universal thought, it is difficult to say. Bearing in mind the universalistic spirit of the writing, the possibility, at least, of some wider meaning may be conceded.

In the passage on forgiveness we have what Charles justly calls "a passage of truly epoch-making importance." In the New Testament the explicit or implicit condition of divine forgiveness is the forgiveness of one's debtor. This is the unmistakable teaching of the Lord's Prayer, and has stood in marked contrast to the position of the Old Testament. There the divine forgiveness was very full and very free to the true seeker. But there appears to have been no incongruity between possessing forgiveness

<sup>33</sup> Test. Iss. 5:2.

<sup>34</sup> Test. Dan 5:3.

<sup>35</sup> Test. Iss. 7:6.

so graciously bestowed and cherishing feelings of deep animosity and lasting resentment. Even the great David could counsel unremitting revenge in his dying commands. The imprecatory psalms were for long centuries a stumbling-block to the Old Testament student on account of their revengeful characteristics. In the Testaments we have a link in the chain of the development of the idea of forgiveness, and one far on the way to the position of Jesus.

The passage is of such importance that we quote it at length:

And now, my children, I exhort you, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love ye one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honor thee, and be at peace with thee. But if he be shameless and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging.<sup>36</sup>

It is not necessary to point out the thoroughgoing character of the passage. It is to be doubted if the New Testament anywhere strikes a higher note on the matter. The following remark of Charles seems fully justified: "These verses contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a most wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question." The great value of the passage is that it shows that within Judaism—and Pharisaic Judaism at that—there was a very high ethical standard of forgiveness. In the early days of the Pharisees, before their interests became political, the best that the Law, the Prophets, and the Sages had given furnished the material from which these high conceptions were formed. Later the growth of political interest and legalism forced the better part into a very secondary position from which it was brought by the Peerless Teacher.

To appreciate fully the high quality and real value of this book it must be read and studied. Among the works which come from

<sup>36</sup> Test. Gad 6:1, 3, 4, 6, 7.

those interesting centuries before our Lord's appearance it occupies a position of first importance. Its apocalyptic value is minor, other books rank with it in their historical and theological contributions; but this one occupies a unique position through its remarkable ethical message—a message which humanity could well afford to heed even after the lapse of these many years.



## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER<sup>1</sup>

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VII. With Chronicles we cross the border line which separates the uncanonical from the canonical books. The date of the work is usually assigned to the early Greek period, or 300 B.C. But recent investigations have tended to show that Chronicles, like most of the historical books in the Bible, is a compilation, and that much of the material found in it dates from a somewhat earlier period, while a smaller portion is due to later accretion. In general it is safe to say that the book reflects the situation which developed during the latter part of the Persian period and the early part of the Greek period (400-250 B.C.). The book purports to give the history of the pre-exilic period, but, as a matter of fact, it does not tell us what actually occurred in earlier days, but only what the author thought must have occurred. The author belongs to that unimaginative class of persons who suppose that what is believed and practiced in their own day has always been believed and practiced. The Chronicles is the first example that has come down to us of the Midrash literature, or the reformulation and embellishment of ancient literature for homiletical purposes. In dealing with the evidence of the Chronicler we must always remember that we are dealing with a preacher rather than with a historian, with a man who, like most of the writers of his day, was unable to distinguish between historical fact and accepted doctrine.

Little light is thrown upon our subject by an examination of the Chronicler's relationship to the Canon. When he wrote, the third group was of course incomplete, as his own work was afterward to belong to it. It is probable also that the group of Prophets was even less defined than in the time of Ben Sirā. It is a rather significant fact in this connection that the Chronicler preferably uses other sources than our Books of Kings in retelling the history

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the February issue of the *Biblical World*.

of the pre-exilic period.<sup>2</sup> For the Chronicler the Law was the primary Canon. It is the influence of the Law that is largely responsible for his historical reconstructions. Accordingly, from the time of the Chronicler backward, the history of the Psalter separates from the history of the Canon, and we are shut up to an examination of the Chronicler's use of individual psalms or collections of psalms. In this connection there are three passages of special importance:

The *first passage* is II Chron. 29:30. According to it the Levites are to sing praises to Jehovah with the words of David and Asaph the seer. The allusion can be to nothing else than to a collection of Davidic and Asaphite psalms. This is the first reference to such psalms in history.<sup>3</sup>

In the *second passage* (II Chron. 6:41-42) the Chronicler cites Ps. 132:8-10 (in our collection grouped with the Pilgrim psalms) and places it in the mouth of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple. There can be no serious question of the dependence of the Chronicler upon the psalm at this point.<sup>4</sup>

The Chronicler's readiness to adorn his account of ancient religious services by incorporating into his description quotations of psalms is even more strikingly exhibited in the *third passage*. The Chronicler is describing the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Zion. He elaborates the account found in II Sam., chap. 6, in his own peculiar fashion. He describes at length the song service led by a Levitical choir and quotes the song supposed to have been sung. On examination it turns out to be a composite production made up of certain fragments of psalms:

16: 8-22	Ps. 105:1-15
16:23-33	Ps. 96:2-13a
16:34	Ps. 106:1
16:35	Ps. 106:47
16:36	Ps. 106:48

<sup>2</sup> Whether our Books of Kings are *directly* used at all is uncertain. It is possible that they may have been used only through the medium of the main source which the Chronicler seems to rely upon.

<sup>3</sup> The original connection of vss. 25-30 with what precedes has been disputed. Benzinger regards them as one of the later accretions to the work of the Chronicler, but it is safer critically and historically to see in it the work of the Chronicler himself (cf. Kittel and Curtis, *ad loc.*).

<sup>4</sup> Duhm's attempt to prove the contrary, upon which Benzinger relies, implies an impossible exegesis of the psalm.

It is generally admitted that the passage in Chronicles is dependent upon the Psalms. Ps. 105 is a great review of the history of Israel. To this review vss. 1-15 form the appropriate introduction. They are thus organically related to the rest of the psalm. On the other hand they have nothing to do with the situation to which the Chronicler refers them or with Ps. 96 with which he combines them. The dependence of the Chronicler upon Pss. 105 and 96 may therefore be regarded as proved. This will raise the presumption that vss. 34-36 are also dependent upon Ps. 106. If the parallelism existed only between vs. 34 and Ps. 106:1, this would not be so evident, for we have to do here with a current doxology.<sup>5</sup> But when vss. 35 and 36 are also almost identical with Ps. 106:47, 48, it is altogether probable that the Chronicler was led to repeat the current doxology in this particular passage because he had Ps. 106 in mind.

It has been inferred from the free way in which the Chronicler combined and rearranged various psalms that he had no clear conception of the canonicity of the Psalter. It is probable that no formulated theory of its canonicity did exist in his day, but the Chronicler's treatment of the Psalms is no evidence of this. A hymnbook, even though it were regarded as canonical, naturally lends itself to rearrangement for liturgical and literary purposes. Of more importance is the fact that the Chronicler ascribes one of these psalms to Solomon and the other (apparently) to David or Asaph and this, too, in spite of the absence of titles to these psalms in the Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> The bearing of this fact on the trustworthiness of the Davidic tradition will be discussed hereafter.

Of most importance in the present connection is the observation that the dependence of the Chronicler upon the Psalter is not limited, as in the case of Ben Sira, to subtle allusions, but extends to lengthy quotations. The fact that the Chronicler, one hundred years before Ben Sira, made such clear use of the Psalms confirms the deductions already drawn from the testimony of Ben Sira himself as to the *existence* of the Psalter in this early period. But we may go farther and argue, as was done in the case of Ben Sira, that the particular psalms used by the Chronicler imply,

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pss. 107:1; 118:1; 136:1.

<sup>6</sup> In the LXX Ps. 96 is ascribed to David.

though they do not stringently prove, the existence of the great bulk of the psalms in the Psalter. We saw that Ps. 136 was a very late psalm. Hence the dependence of the hymn in Ecclesiasticus upon this psalm carried with it impliedly the existence of the numerous psalms which were earlier than Ps. 136. Similarly Pss. 96, 105, 106, 132 admittedly belong to the later psalms of the Psalter. Hence, proved dependence upon these again implies the existence of those numerous psalms which belong to earlier strata, and again the deductions made from Ben Sira's testimony as to the *size* of the Psalter are corroborated. But may we not go farther still and find evidence in the Chronicler's work that he actually knew our Psalter in its fivefold form? Here the relationship of I Chron. 16:36 to Ps. 106:48 must be re-examined. Ps. 106:48 is a doxology at the end of Book IV. If Books I, II, and III be compared, they are found to conclude with similar doxologies. It is admitted on all hands that the first three doxologies do not belong to the psalms which preceded them, but are added to mark the close of the respective books. They belong to the redaction of the Psalter. In other words, they have a literary rather than a liturgical function. Analogy would suggest that the doxology at the end of Book IV also belongs to the redaction and hence has a literary function. Since the Chronicler uses this doxology at 16:36 it has been plausibly argued that he was already acquainted with the Psalter in its present fivefold form.<sup>7</sup> This conclusion would be of such fundamental importance if it could be substantiated that it must be examined with some detail.

Three objections have been urged against it: 1. It is claimed that, after all, Ps. 106:48 depends upon I Chron. 16:36 and not the latter passage upon the former. This objection may be dismissed without hesitation. As we have already seen, the admitted dependence of the Chronicler upon Pss. 105 and 96 raises the strongest sort of presumption that he depends upon Ps. 106. This presumption is strengthened by the very significant change in tenses in I Chron. 16:36 as compared with Ps. 106:48. That which is a

<sup>7</sup> Yet even on this supposition, incorporation of later psalms into the framework of the fivefold Psalter is conceivable.



liturgical note in the psalm ("And let all the people say Amen, Hallelujah") is a historical statement in Chronicles ("And all the people said Amen and praised Jehovah"). There is unquestionably adaptation here. But it is far more natural to hold that the Chronicler, who has adapted the other psalms cited in vss. 8-35 to a historical situation, has adapted this doxology to the same situation, than that the statement of a historical fact should be transformed into a liturgical note. The Chronicler is describing a religious service in past history as it was accustomed to be celebrated in his own day. He therefore makes the people say *Amen* in accordance with the liturgical prescriptions with which he was familiar. This view accords with all that we know of the Chronicler's method of reading the customs of his own day into the past.

2. The second objection is more formidable. It is claimed that I Chron. 16:8-36 does not belong to the original work of the Chronicler but is a much later insertion. Hence, even if the dependence of this passage upon the psalms is granted, this implies nothing as to the existence or form of the Psalter in the Chronicler's day. Now a careful study of the narrative in I Chron., chaps. 15 and 16, reveals the fact that it is not homogeneous. At least vss. 19-24a have every appearance of being a later accretion. But if the narrative is tampered with here, it may be tampered with elsewhere. Vss. 8-36 have been regarded as a second instance of interpolation for the following reasons: (a) If these verses are omitted, vs. 37 is found to attach directly to vss. 5-7; (b) Vs. 7, strictly speaking, does not necessarily introduce the following quotations; (c) In vss. 8-36 there is no allusion to the event at which these psalms are said to have been sung, and vs. 35 is actually incompatible with this event; (d) The final argument is a singular one. If, it is urged, these psalms had already been attributed to Asaph or David by the Chronicler, they would not have remained anonymous in the Psalter. The fact that they are anonymous shows that this section in the Chronicler follows the Psalter—and hence must be interpolated! The first three arguments are of little force. The fact that vs. 37 resumes vss. 5-7 does not prove that vss. 8-36 are an interpolation. After the

citations have been given, of course the narrative must be resumed. Again, the jolting connection between vss. 7 and 8 and the lack of correspondence between the psalms and the occasion on which they are said to have been sung are of little significance, when the Chronicler's looseness of style and lack of historical imagination are remembered. To infer interpolation from lack of historical appropriateness is a strange argument to employ in connection with this writer. It would have force only if it could be shown that the Chronicler was himself sensitive to historical proprieties. As a matter of fact he was as likely to violate them as any interpolator.

The last argument can be understood only when it is first assumed that either the psalms including their titles or, at least, the titles are later than the Chronicler. On the basis of this assumption we would expect to find, it is claimed, a reflection of the Chronicler's view of the origin of these psalms in the titles, if vss. 8-36 are the Chronicler's own work. At the present point in our investigation this argument is a pure *petitio principii*. It assumes something that remains to be proved. But waving the fallacy in it (it is not always safe to subject historical investigations to the demands of formal logic) it is still unconvincing, for it further assumes that those who were responsible for the titles to the Psalms would have *necessarily* been influenced by the Chronicler's statements. This is a conjecture, not an argument. As a matter of fact such traditions had no inherent value. They were, as we shall see, largely irresponsible guesses. A conceit of the Chronicler would not necessarily have weight with other men. The argument, further, overreaches itself. Even if the passage were interpolated in Chronicles there is no reason why its views might not have worked themselves into the titles as easily as it is assumed that they would have done if the passage had been original.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the success of the attempt to avoid the conclusion that the Chronicler knew our fivefold division of the Psalter, by attacking the genuineness of vss. 8-36, must be regarded as doubtful.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Kittel, *Bücher der Chronik*, 70.

<sup>9</sup> The above objections to the genuineness of vss. 8-36 have been handed down from the time of Reuss until they have acquired the sacredness of some venerable

3. But the third objection which has been urged against this conclusion seems to me to be decisive. In brief, it is that the doxology at Ps. 106:48 has a liturgical function and not a literary function. In other words, its relationship is primarily with the Psalm and not with Book IV. If this can be established it is evident that no inference can be drawn from the Chronicler's acquaintance with this doxology as to his acquaintance with the fivefold form of the Psalter.

If the doxology at the end of Book IV is compared with the doxologies at the end of the other books it will be found that they are substantially identical. At first thought it would seem that the purpose of the doxology was the same in all four cases, namely, to mark the close of the several books. But within the doxology of Book IV is a phrase ("And let all the people say") which differentiates it from all the other doxologies by giving it a distinctly liturgical significance.<sup>10</sup> It is to be sung. But under what condition is it to be sung? It cannot be sung as the concluding doxology of the book, but only of the psalm which precedes. Its connection is with the psalm, not with the book. This view of its connection is confirmed when Ps. 106 is studied in its relationship

formula (cf. Cornill's *Introduction*, 407, and Duhm, *Psalmen*, 249). Criticism must be careful not to become in its turn a mechanical tradition. There is another argument, however, for a later date of I Chron. 16:8-36, which I have not observed elsewhere. If I Chron. 16:36 depends upon Ps. 106:48 it implies that the Hallel already stood at the end of the psalm. In the November article we saw that according to the LXX the Hallels regularly preceded the psalms rather than followed them and this gave a more logical arrangement. If the more logical arrangement is at the same time the earlier arrangement, then it would indeed seem necessary to regard I Chron. 16:36 as a later interpolation as it would reflect the later custom of singing the Hallels at the end. But the present datum at once presses the question home whether after all we have the right to speak of the Greek usage as the relatively earlier usage. We saw that it could not have been the original usage. It is probable that the Greek and Hebrew texts at this point only betray different liturgical customs, and to argue that the Greek custom is earlier and that I Chron. 16:36 which reflects the Hebrew custom is therefore an interpolation seems very precarious. It is interesting to note that the LXX of I Chron. 16:36 agrees with the Hebrew. Since the LXX translation of Chronicles was known to Eupolemus (158 B.C.) the custom of singing final Hallels must have already existed in his day. Compare also the final Hallels at B. S. 51:12<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The phrase is not a liturgical gloss but a part of the doxology as the post-Deuteronomic passage, Deut. 27:15, clearly indicates. Compare also Neh. 5:13; 8:6, and Num. 5:22 for the amen-response.

to Pss. 105 and 107. These three psalms in their present form are a trilogy of Hallel's closely connected together. At first sight all three psalms appear to be reviews of Israel's history and thanksgivings to God for his mercies as exhibited in that history. But when the psalms are more carefully studied this interpretation is only borne out so far as Ps. 105 is concerned. In Ps. 105 the history of the nation is painted in rainbow colors. It is the fulfilment of God's covenant with Abraham and there is no confession of national sin which might have made the covenant void. Thus the spirit of Ps. 105 is properly the spirit of a Hallel psalm. In Ps. 106, on the contrary, the colors are all somber. The mercies of God are in spite of the national sins. The present generation confesses its own sin in identifying itself with the generation of the Exodus (vs. 6) and prays for forgiveness and redemption (vs. 47). Vs. 6 is really the theme and vs. 47 the goal of the psalm. The spirit of Ps. 106 is the spirit of confession and entreaty rather than the spirit of praise. With the body of the psalm the introductory praises (vss. 1-5) are quite inconsistent. It is therefore altogether probable that these verses are a later liturgical accretion. This conjecture becomes still more probable when Ps. 107 is examined. If this psalm is read in the light of vss. 1-3 it might be thought that the subject of it was praise for national deliverance. But if vss. 4-32 are examined by themselves this interpretation is not substantiated. Instead of national deliverances we have deliverances from certain typical dangers that might befall anyone, namely, from the dangers of caravan travel (vss. 4-9), of imprisonment (vss. 10-16), of sickness (vss. 17-22), of the sea (vss. 23-32). In vss. 33-43 there is a miscellaneous collection of causes for gratitude which has nothing to do either with the interesting thought or poetical structure of what precedes. But vss. 1-3, which tend to give to vss. 4-32 a nationalistic significance, are intimately connected with Ps. 106 (cf. 106:1 and 47 especially). The conclusion seems inevitable. Pss. 105, 106, and 107 originally had nothing to do with each other. Their present connection, which is acknowledged by all scholars, is due to redaction, i.e., to the addition of vss. 1-5 to Ps. 106 and of vss. 1-3 and 33-43 to Ps. 107.

If we now ask what is the relationship of Ps. 106:48, it is most easily understood as a part of this Hallel redaction. If it is once admitted that the connection between Pss. 106 and 107 is artificial, it is clear that these psalms must have been joined together *before* the present division of the books was recognized. In other words, the Hallel redaction of Pss. 105-7 must have preceded the present separation of these psalms into different books, which tends to destroy the very relation which it was the purpose of the redaction to establish. But if Pss. 105-7 were once redacted into a group of Hallel's it is difficult to see how the final redactor of the Psalter ever came to make a book division just at this point and mark it with a doxology. On the other hand, when it is recollected that the doxology at Ps. 106:48 has a distinctly liturgical function, the presumption is overwhelmingly in favor of the view that it belonged to the liturgical Hallel redaction of Pss. 105-7, rather than to the literary redaction of the Psalter. If this view be granted, we can at once find an answer to the question raised at the end of the third article in this series as to why a book-division was made just at this point in spite of the very strong topical reasons against it. If the doxology already stood at Ps. 106:48 when this group of Hallel's was adopted into the Psalter, when once the desire arose to create a fivefold division of the Psalter corresponding to the Pentateuch, the doxology afforded a convenient opportunity to make the division at this point. The present division between Books IV and V is thus seen to be purely accidental and arbitrary. We cannot argue from it to a separate history of the psalms in these two books.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On the relationship of the various doxologies. This must remain a matter of conjecture. That the final redactor of the Psalter is not responsible for all of them has just been made probable by the above discussion in connection with Book IV. It is also probable in view of the fact that the doxology at the end of Book II precedes the final historical notice and that no doxology is placed at the end of Book V. It is sometimes said that Ps. 150 is itself a doxology, and therefore a closing doxology is not needed. But if the final redactor had felt the need of marking the close of the previous books with doxologies it is not probable that he would have omitted it in the case of Book V. It is therefore altogether probable that the doxologies at the end of Books I, II, and III were, like the Books themselves, due to different hands. That the doxologies of Books I and III are so much like the doxology of Book IV is probably due to the fact that this doxology was in current use in the liturgies (cf. Book IV), and was therefore naturally adopted for literary purposes also (Books I and III).

Accordingly, while it is altogether probable that the Chronicler knew of Davidic and Asaphite psalms and that his collection of psalms was a large one, we are not at liberty to infer that he knew our present collection in its fivefold form.



*Melozzo da Forlì*

ANGEL

## PROFESSOR SANDERS' *DEUTERONOMY-JOSHUA*

In discussing Professor Sanders' pamphlet on the Washington manuscripts of Deuteronomy and Joshua in the *Biblical World* (XXXVI, 1910), it was suggested that the hooks which occur so frequently in the margins may have called attention to things of more than one kind; among others, to parallels in Psalms or the New Testament, or within Deuteronomy itself (p. 208). It may help to give color to that suggestion, to point out that in Codex Coislinianus (Paris, seventh century; Octateuch and historical books), there is a great deal of marginal material of at least two kinds: Hexaplaric variants and what the annotator considered New Testament parallels. If marginal annotations could take these two directions, in Coislinianus, we may feel encouraged to seek the explanation of Mr. Sanders' hooks in such ways. The great bulk of them certainly do coincide with texts or phrases which have parallels in Psalms, the New Testament, or Deuteronomy itself, and for an interest in such things on the part of a mediaeval scribe the evidence of Coislinianus is quite conclusive. Its writer's way of copying his supposed New Testament parallels into his margin has even led to the inclusion of Coislinianus among New Testament manuscripts (F<sup>a</sup>, old style). The Hexaplaric notes in Coislinianus supply a clue for the explanation of such of these hooks as are not sufficiently explained as marking parallels. Indeed it occurred to me in working them over last summer that some of them seemed to coincide with readings for which good Hexaplaric variants exist.

One hesitates to impugn the Latinity of a Latinist, but Professor Sanders' Latin form for Joshua seems at least unusual. He prints it Joshue (captions, pp. 83-103). It is not easy to misspell Joshua in Latin: Jesus appears in the canon lists, and Josue (Iosue) is uniformly used in the Vulgate, e.g., Amiatinus, the Polyglots, Hetzenauer; while the somewhat less trustworthy Latin (transliterated) titles of Hebrew Bibles usually show Jehosuah. For Professor Sanders' form Joshue, however, there seems to be no adequate support; indeed, as far as my observation goes, no support at all.

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## Exploration and Discovery

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THE expedition sent out in 1908 by Harvard University to the site of old Samaria under the direction of Professor Reissner has discovered a group of seventy-five inscribed fragments of old Hebrew pottery. These fragments were found in the immediate vicinity of the so-called palace of Omri and Ahab, the identification of which has been rendered still more probable by the discovery of a vase bearing the name of Osorkon II, the Egyptian contemporary of Ahab. The fragments are inscribed with Hebrew characters written in ink and are found to be business receipts for quantities of oil, wine, and the like. The Hebrew characters closely resemble those found on the Siloam inscription and the Moabite Stone. A preliminary report on the find is given by Professor Lyon in the January number of the *Harvard Theological Review*. The publication of this material in full is awaited with great interest, since it adds a valuable source of information concerning the character of early Hebrew writing.

THE British Museum about February 1 of this year began excavations at Carchemish under the firman which it has had for a considerable length of time. The director of the excavations is D. G. Hogarth, and his chief assistant R. Campbell Thompson. Carchemish, on the upper Euphrates, is a site which should yield results of great value. It was a gathering-place of the ancients. The Hittites held possession there for a long time, the Assyrians and Babylonians also had their turn, and for a while Egypt held sway. Students of Hebrew history will recall that it was at this place that Nebuchadrezzar II met and defeated Necho II, thus settling the question as to whether Egypt or Babylon should succeed to the domain of Assyria in Western Asia. Serious charges of carelessness and incompetence have been made against the excavators formerly sent out by the Museum to work upon this mound. The commitment of this expedition to Messrs. Hogarth and Thompson is a practical guaranty that the task will be performed with scientific efficiency.

A RECENT article in the *Interpreter*, by Canon Yates, resident in Jerusalem, bearing the title, "An Important Archaeological Discovery in Jerusalem," tells of the finding of a church erected by Saint Helena in the grounds of the church of the Paternoster, a little to the southwest



of the summit of the Mount of Olives, on the slope toward Bethany. The modern church of the Paternoster was erected in 1869. The fact that there had been an earlier church in this vicinity was known from a statement of Eusebius, the church historian. His testimony was corroborated by the statement of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (about 333 A.D.) to the same effect. The old church as thus far revealed seems to have measured about 250 feet in length, and 70 feet in width. A most important feature of the discovery of especial interest to churches that practice the rite of immersion as the only form of baptism is the finding of a baptistery lying several feet below the level of the floor of the church. Mr. Yates, who has himself visited the site, says that the baptistery was evidently "constructed for baptism by immersion, and there are arrangements for drawing off the water. In the center is a place perhaps a foot lower than the rest of the floor, about 18 inches wide by 30 inches long, intended quite clearly for the candidate to stand in." The intention of the excavators is said to be to restore this old cathedral church if possible.

For a long time there has been on exhibition in the British Museum a Syriac manuscript of the Pentateuch which is labeled as "the earliest manuscript of the Bible in any language of which the exact date is known." This manuscript bears the date of 463 A.D. On the tenth of last October, however, M. Tisserant discovered in the British Museum itself a Syriac manuscript of Isaiah four years older than the aforesaid manuscript of the Pentateuch. This newly discovered manuscript was brought from one of the famous monasteries in Nitria. It is a palimpsest, and the Syriac text of Isaiah which it contains was copied in the year 459-60 A.D. The text is of sentimental interest as now being the oldest known biblical manuscript of any extent, and will be of practical service since it seems to offer many variants to the Syriac text of Isaiah as hitherto known. A full account of the discovery with description of the manuscript and a statement of its contents will be found from the pen of M. Tisserant himself in the *Revue Biblique* for January, 1911.

THE first part of the Hamburg Papyri just published by Paul M. Meyer (*Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 1911) contains a second-century document of some interest for New Testament lexicography. The text is a complaint, addressed to the decadarch, relating to a robbery, and gives an inventory of the articles taken by the robbers. Some of these are described by familiar New

Testament words. There is a scarlet (κόκκινος) garment (cf. Matt. 27:28; Heb. 9:19; Rev. *passim*); an emerald (ζμαράγδινος; cf. σμαράγδινος, Rev. 4:3) girdle; an unfulled (ἄγναφος, Matt. 9:16; Mark 2:21) cloth; two lamp stands (λυχνίαί, Matt. 5:15; Heb. 9:2; Rev. *passim*), a pot (στάμνος, Heb. 9:4); and several hair-sieves (so Meyer renders σάκκοι τρίχινοι), or, more probably, hair-cloth garments (cf. Rev. 6:12). There was also a cloak, φαινόλης (Latin paenula), which is only another, and better, form of φελόνης (φαιλόνης, II Tim. 4:13). The papyrus comes from the Fayûm.

It has long been supposed that the Philistines emigrated into Palestine from their original home in Crete or its vicinity. The basis for this belief has been furnished by the following facts: The Philistine body-guard of David was made up of Cherethites and Pelethites, and the name Cherethites at once suggests Crete. In Zeph. 2:5, the Philistines are called "nation of the Cherethites." In Amos 9:7, Jehovah asks, "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistines from Caphtor?" Caphtor has been identified with the Egyptian *Keftiu*, which is the regular designation on the Egyptian monuments for Crete and its vicinity. An additional consideration in support of this identification of the region of Crete as the original homeland of the Philistines is now offered by the so-called Phaestos disk. This inscription was found in Crete in a stratum of the ruins which in all probability belongs to about 1600 B.C. An account of the discovery of the disk, together with excellent photographs, will be found in Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Vol. I (1910). One of the commonest characters in this inscription is a head, wearing a headdress which is identical with that regularly represented on the Egyptian monuments as worn by the Philistines and other related tribes from the north which poured down upon the Nile Valley. The headdress is quite unique, being totally different from that worn by Semites in general. Consequently the disk seems to bear independent testimony to the fact that the Philistines originally came from Crete or from the coast of Asia Minor in its vicinity. An attempt is made by Professor Hempl in the January number of *Harper's Magazine* to decipher the inscription as a proto-Greek document. The attempt, however, can hardly be called successful.

## Work and Workers

SINCE the recent death of Professor Pfeiderer, who held the chair of the philosophy of religion in Berlin University, strenuous efforts have been made by friends and adherents of the comparatively new science of comparative religion to secure recognition of that science in the appointment of Professor Pfeiderer's successor. The task was difficult because comparative religion encountered so many prejudices on the part of previously established departments, and because as yet no German university had recognized the subject by the appointment of a professor to lecture upon it. Even the famous historian Professor Harnack, of the Berlin faculty, was at first opposed to such an appointment. But with his characteristic open-mindedness he ultimately, as a result of the educational campaign that was inaugurated, came to see the necessity of such an appointment, and co-operated heartily with those seeking to obtain it. At last the government consented to it, and after a careful canvass of available candidates, the appointment of Professor Pfeiderer's chair was given to Dr. Lehmann of the philosophical faculty in the Danish University at Copenhagen. Dr. Lehmann is already well known in the world of scholarship through his publications, and has taken large editorial responsibilities in connection with two important series of publications. His classes in Berlin are said to be gratifyingly large. Mr. Louis H. Jordan, himself probably the best known English student of comparative religion, gives a full and interesting account of the movement which has resulted in the establishment of this important precedent by the University of Berlin, in the *Expository Times* for February, 1911.

To the recent important volume on *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, Martin Sprengling, fellow in the University of Chicago, 1907-10, contributes fresh copies of the numerous inscriptions of that ancient basilica, of which he made a special study while a member of the American School at Jerusalem, in 1909. Full acknowledgment is made by the editors of Mr. Sprengling's texts, and of certain translations which he made of texts connected with the building. The monograph is published at London by the Byzantine Research Fund.

A FACSIMILE edition of the famous 42-line Gutenberg Bible, printed at Mainz 1450-55, is being issued by Hubert Welter, of Paris and Leip-

zig. The copy in the Royal Library at Munich has been selected for reproduction. M. Seymour de Ricci will provide the critical introduction. The subscription price is 500 marks. This Latin Bible is the earliest (undated) specimen of Johann Gutenberg's printing, and is the first considerable work printed by the use of movable types. It is sometimes called the Mazarin Bible. There are said to be only some forty copies of the original work in existence.

ON February 16 occurred the death of Rev. Charles M. Mead at the age of seventy-five. Dr. Mead was probably best known as a member of the American Committee on the Revision of the English Bible. He began his professional career as professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, a position which he held from 1866 to 1882. The decade from 1882 to 1892 was spent in Germany. Upon his return from Germany, he became professor of Christian theology in Hartford Theological Seminary, where he remained until 1898. Thereupon he took up the task of seeing the American Standard Edition of the Old Testament through the press. He carried the entire responsibility for the reading of the proof of this edition. His best-known works probably were his *Commentary on Exodus*, in Lange's series (1876), *The Soul Here and Hereafter* (1879), *Supernatural Revelation* (1899), *Christ and Criticism* (1893).

THE centennial of the founding of American Baptist Foreign Missions occurs this year. Adoniram Judson landed in Burma in July, 1813. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, which afterward undertook his support, was established in May, 1814. This society will hold a public meeting in honor of the centennial at Rochester, N.Y., on the evening of March 16 of this year. At this meeting addresses will be given by President E. B. Bryan, D.D., of Colgate Theological Seminary, Rev. Edward Judson, D.D., of the Judson Memorial Church, New York City, who is a son of Dr. Adoniram Judson, Rev. B. L. Whitman, of Seattle, and Rev. H. E. Fosdick, of Montclair, N.J. This is an occasion which should be interesting to Christians of whatever name in view of the fact that Adoniram Judson was the first representative of American Christianity on the foreign field.

THE Authorized Version of the English Bible this year celebrates its tercentenary. The occasion will be quite generally observed throughout the English-speaking world. In view of this fact the April issue of the *Biblical World* will be devoted almost entirely to articles relating to the English Bible in general, and the version of 1611 in particular.

## Book Reviews

### CRITICISM AND ITS CRITICS<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this book is set forth in the opening paragraph as follows:

It is well known that in our time a view of the origin of the Pentateuch differing fundamentally from that commonly held by Jews and Christians alike has found extensive acceptance in all quarters of the civilized world. The object of this book is to consider whether this view is tenable in the light of the best modern scholarship and, if it be not, to suggest to what conclusion the evidence at present points.

Thus we see that a very large task is undertaken in a volume of about one hundred and fifty pages; but the author has every confidence in his own ability to review the work done, by the leading scholars of the world, during the past century and a half and to say how far it is in accord with real knowledge and careful reasoning.

The spirit in which it is undertaken appears from this statement quoted from a contribution to the *Princeton Theological Review*:

In the view of the whole critical school the Pentateuch is at best an ordinary book, at worst a field for practicing their quaint arithmetical exercises. In my view it is not primarily a piece of literature at all; it is a piece of statesmanship and must be judged as such. While, therefore, I recognize that it is impossible for anybody now to dive into the mind of Moses so far as to be able to assign precise reasons for the position of each individual command in the whole complex body of legislation, I believe that attention to the considerations that must have been present to the lawgiver's mind, aided by a careful study of many points that have hitherto escaped notice, will enable us not merely to answer Dr. Driver's arguments, but also to throw new light on problems that have hitherto remained unsolved [p. 144].

This is certainly a remarkable statement; it shows the author's confidence in his own powers. Unfortunately there is one thing lacking, and that is a sense of humor, that saving grace which should check such pretentious folly. It begins with a remark that is quite false: "In the view of the whole critical school the Pentateuch is at best an ordinary book." Anyone with the slightest knowledge of history

<sup>1</sup> *The Origin of the Pentateuch*. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Oberlin, O.: Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1910. 152 pages. \$0.40.

knows that a whole critical school consisting of representative scholars of the greatest nations of the world, and carrying on its operations during several centuries, does not gather around "an ordinary book." The remainder of this sentence is simply impertinent: "at worst a field for practicing their quaint arithmetical exercises." What does "quaint arithmetical exercises" mean? On p. 56 there is reference to the work of Colenso. As he was the author of an arithmetic perhaps he may be supposed to have dealt in "arithmetical exercises," "quaint" or otherwise. But it seems that there was some foundation for these exercises, for up to 1910, the date of the publication of this pamphlet, "candor compels the admission that, fairly considered, the answers are not convincing." Now, however, Mr. Wiener appears upon the scene with paleography and textual criticism and the deed is done: "there is an easy and natural solution available," and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is saved (p. 50). But surely the next assertion is absurd. Ordinary people are under the impression that the Pentateuch is literature, consisting of narratives, poems, laws, etc.; it is that both primarily and ultimately, the problem being to place its varied sections in their historical setting and so find the permanent message in them. If our author prefers to call the Pentateuch "a piece of statesmanship" that only shows an extreme looseness of expression on his part. Further, it is comforting to know that while no one can now "dive into the mind of Moses" sufficiently to understand his principle of classification, our author can by a keen, logical process pierce the depths of that mind far enough to enable him to answer Dr. Driver and "throw light on problems that have hitherto remained unsolved." This paragraph is a fair specimen of the spirit, style, and method of the discussion.

Mr. Wiener, whose aim is to show the shallowness and foolishness of the whole critical movement, is himself a critic; he is indeed *the* critic; he can tell us just the right kind of criticism and exactly how far it should go. There are "difficulties of the Pentateuch" of course; if there were no difficulties there would be no need for critics. These difficulties, however, can easily be solved when once you have the right man and the true method. The right man is the author of the present volume, and the method is the discovery by means of textual criticism and otherwise of (1) glosses, (2) "corrupt words," and (3) "transpositions." If you have the skill to operate this simple method you can dispense with all the cumbrous analysis of the infatuated critics and restore the Mosaic authorship. "The higher critics have not succeeded in doing what they thought they had, but they have been successful in

their attack on a few glosses (such as Deut. 10:6 f.) and a few corrupt words, and also on the *order* of the present text."

These are the main scholarly gains from the discussion provoked by the higher critics—a better comprehension of laws and history, the recognition that the Pentateuch incorporates post-Mosaic notes and that Genesis contains many pre-Mosaic elements. As to the fantastic documentary and evolutionary hypotheses, they are doomed, however numerous the professional reputations and publishing enterprises that depend on them.

It is remarkable that there should be any gains from the discussions of critics who are so ignorant and capricious. But let us see if there is really much difference in principle. Redactors are objectionable persons introduced by critics to get them out of their difficulties. If that is so what is the true explanation? The "*leaf*" got misplaced and then a reader, not a redactor, tried to find the proper place and made things worse. "There is some reason for believing that in some cases the present difficulty of the order of the Pentateuchal sections is due to mistaken efforts to improve errors of position." Thus Mr. Wiener's glossators who help him out of his difficulty are very much like redactors on a smaller scale. Further, Mr. Wiener has to place at times a tremendous weight on "corrupt words," and this in some cases where the documentary evidence in his favor is very slight, and the main reason for getting rid of the word in question seems to be that it is inconvenient to him, so that our model critic is not free from "tendency criticism." In proof of this consider the following elaborate statement (p. 71):

#### THE TRUE COURSE OF THE HISTORY

In outline that course is as follows: Moses set apart the tribe of Levi for certain desert services. These would cease with the conquest of Canaan and the erection of the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh. At that same time he delivered a body of law which could easily be administered by the family of Aaron during the desert period, but necessitated the creation of a numerous and scattered priesthood for its application in settled conditions. In Deuteronomy the natural solution of the problem thus created was adopted; but, unfortunately, a glossator who read the words of Moses many centuries after his death, when conditions were entirely different, adopted a very natural misunderstanding of his meaning and inserted a single word of explanation. The explanation was historically erroneous, and consequently its presence in our text has made the provisions of the law as to Levites and the work of Ezekiel unintelligible. That word is fortunately missing in some Septuagintal MSS, and should be removed. It is the Hebrew word for "the Levites" in Deut. 18:7. Moses enacted that any Levite coming into the religious capital

could administer "as all his brethren do which stand there before the Lord." That would place him on a level with the sons of Aaron: and we do, in fact, find that all our authorities from Deuteronomy to Malachi regard the priesthood as Levitical. But later a change set in and in the days of the glossator priests and Levites were two sharply distinguished classes. Hence he thought that "his brethren" meant "his fellow-Levites," and added his unhappy note. In point of fact he misread the meaning of Deuteronomy in the light of the circumstances of his own age. From the time of Deuteronomy onward the legitimate priesthood was Levitical save in the northern kingdom. Priests and Levites are identified in the book of Joshua. Judges bears witness to the special character of a Levite. The author of Kings complains that Jeroboam "made priests from among all the people, which were not of the sons of Levi" (I Kings 12:31), not, be it observed, "which were not of the sons of Aaron." Jeremiah (33:17-24) and Malachi (chap. 2) are in exact agreement with this. So is Ezekiel, for the passage quoted above shows that he recognized the priestly right of all Levites as historically true. But he seeks to introduce a change in punishment for the idolatry of all save the sons of Zadok, i.e., the priests of Solomon's temple. And so he goes back to the old desert distinction by which the whole priestly tribe is divided into two classes—a higher and a lower—and he introduces it in a modified form. For the sons of Aaron he substitutes the sons of Zadok—who has been made high priest by Solomon (I Kings 2:35; cf. 27)—and he re-enacts for them, with slight modifications, the Mosaic legislation as to the sons of Aaron. To the lower grades he assigns duties that had been performed by foreigners. His language is borrowed from the Pentateuch, but he invests the term used with a new meaning. Subsequently his influence prevailed and the distinction between priests and Levites is seen after the Exile.

The view held by scholars concerning the date of Deuteronomy, and the position that it gives to Levites could not be changed by the simple expedient of removing a word from a particular text, but it is interesting to note that a person who denounces so strongly "subjective" and capricious criticism is capable of removing an inconvenient word with very little help from the documents. It is not possible to deal in a paragraph with the date of Deuteronomy and its position among the documents of the Pentateuch. But it is worth while to remember that at this point the defender of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch dashes himself against one of the most widely accepted and firmly established results of modern criticism. It is more than a century now since the thesis was first clearly stated that Deuteronomy belongs not to the beginning of Hebrew national history but to a period some six centuries later. This subject has been discussed by the keenest investigators during all that time, and the position instead of being



weakened has been continually strengthened so that scholars who differ on many points agree on this. What have we to set against this? "Those who may desire to go farther into the higher critical analysis and the reasons for it will find the necessary materials in the publications of Professors Orr and Green and of the present writer" (p. 106). With regard to the two living champions mentioned here it may be stated that Dr. Orr's *Problem of the Old Testament* makes no real contribution to the great questions because it is so confused in its statements. Both Dr. Orr and Mr. Wiener appear to think that if they can show weaknesses or inconsistencies in the new system they thereby do something to set up another system which has completely fallen to pieces. If these two gentlemen had to face constantly a class of intelligent young men they would find that a broad restatement of the whole Old Testament problem is demanded on a different scale to anything that they have attempted. Those of us who have the responsibility of teaching theological students take frequent opportunities of reminding them that they must not accept the results of criticism as a new tradition but must diligently exercise their minds in testing every statement, with proper reverence for, but without slavish deference to, the names of great scholars. On this point the reviewer may be allowed to exercise once a privilege that Mr. Wiener has used freely, viz., that of quoting from himself:

We have no desire to see any "result" exalted into a dogma which is received on authority; that mode of procedure is quite alien to a really critical or scientific spirit. We maintain that for the thoughtful student of the Old Testament it will always be helpful and inspiring, not only to study the reasons why this particular theory is so widely held, but also to trace in a sympathetic spirit the history of the movement, and to see how slow and painful has been the process through which even this amount of certainty and definite conviction has been reached. At present, then, all that we insist upon is the tremendous importance of this view of the so-called Mosaic documents; if the dominant school is right in this analysis, it is at this point where it has gained its most important victories; and if wrong, it is here where a perverse ingenuity has succeeded in luring toward a false track the scholarship of several generations. This latter alternative leaves us in a hopeless mood; if after centuries of toil the leading men of different countries and Churches have succeeded merely in building up a fanciful and futile hypothesis, we are tempted to believe that such a thing as scientific literary criticism is impossible. This belief would surely be out of harmony with our faith in the presence and guidance of the Eternal God; a faith which, while it leads us to regard our individual contribution with humility and diffidence makes us certain that

there is a divine revelation in all progressive human movements [*Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*, pp. 199, 200].

If this is true of the Documentary Theory as a whole it is still more true as to the position of Deuteronomy, a point on which there is such large agreement. When such a question has entered into the domain of historical criticism it must be settled by impartial reason working on the varied material and not by such a peculiar combination of traditionalism and criticism as that presented by our author. After one has gone carefully over the reasons for dating Deuteronomy later than JE and earlier than P he is not likely to be much affected by this superficial treatment of the subject. The way in which the histories, speeches, and laws of this epoch-making book are based upon the earlier documents demands a space between them not of months, or of years, but of generations.

A great many questions might be asked concerning the passage quoted above in which, in contrast to the wild dreams of critics, "the true history" is given. For example, why "a numerous and scattered *priesthood*" should be required after the settlement if the Deuteronomic Law of the One Sanctuary was valid from the first? However, leaving that and some other points that remain in uncertainty, note how slight in substance is the difference between the statement as to the work of Ezekiel and that ascribed to the critics. The critical interpretation of Ezek. 44:6-16 is given as follows: "Two points are made on this passage. In the temple of Solomon, uncircumcised strangers must have performed duties that ought only to have been discharged by members of the priestly tribe. It is admitted quite fairly that this could easily be explained by the hypothesis that abuses crept in. But the second point is considered more important. Ezekiel is here introducing a new distinction—the difference between the sons of Zadok and the other Levites—and he is introducing it avowedly as a complete novelty. Nay, more, he makes this a punishment for the Levites who went astray after the idols. It is a conscious and intentional degradation. Had they remained faithful, they would have been entitled to full priestly rights, but as they had been disloyal, they are now 'to bear their iniquity'" (p. 69). Now compare this with Mr. Wiener's true explanation. Where is the difference? Simply that Ezekiel instead of making a new distinction reintroduces and modifies "an old desert distinction." This may be very clever, but it strikes the non-legal mind as being, in view of all the facts, very artificial. In other words, according to this statement the distinction ascribed by P to the wilder-

ness period becomes real and effective at the time to which the critics ascribe the codification of that body of laws. A complex question like the date of D or P cannot be settled in this peddling fashion. To mention only one other line of argument, the kind of monotheism that we have in D implies the teaching of the great prophets Amos and Isaiah whose work was some four centuries later than that of Moses.

According to our author literary criticism is very suspicious and especially so as the critics are quite mechanical in their methods and never show that fine delicate feeling of spirit and atmosphere which is needed in the treatment of living words. If we were to admit that there is some truth in the charge of "vigor and rigor" that has been brought against particular critics it would require a great stretch of imagination to believe that the long line of biblical students have been so clumsy and wooden as Mr. Wiener's remarks imply. But it appears that style "is not necessarily a criterion of authorship." Moses has at least three styles, and as "a man of genius" he could have created more if they had been necessary for his purpose. "In a word, I conceive that in each case the style was merely a tool forged by Moses for the accomplishment of his purpose." Of course, on that principle, if it can be called a principle, there is an end to all literary criticism. How would that apply to the Book of Isaiah or any other composite volume in which style, along with other considerations, plays a part in the analysis? Literary criticism is not likely to neglect one of its most important elements because of Mr. Wiener's peculiar conception. In the days of Carlstadt (†1541) there were some who conceded that Moses did not write the last eight verses of Deuteronomy and, accepting this, he took the position that *as there are other parts in the same style the position that Moses did not write the whole may be defended*. We are asked to regard that as a false suggestion but we know, as a matter of fact, that it has been very fruitful. It appears, however, that there is, after all, such a thing as "style," and this has been wonderfully affected by "the activity of glossators," and if scholars had in the first place used a more radical textual criticism they would not have needed so much literary criticism (p. 89). This is given as a general statement without textual illustrations. But it shows that Mr. Wiener must take note of style in order to solve his problems.

Another item in the indictment is that the critics do not distinguish between eastern and western modes of thought and expression and that in addition they show "ignorance of human nature." Dr. White thinks that the discrepancy between Deut. 1:22 f. and Num. 13:1-3 can be

harmonized by a consideration of oriental modes of speech and this our author uses to rebuke Dr. Driver. When we turn to Dr. Driver's commentary we find that he himself suggests that "a formal reconciliation" is possible but because the retrospect in Deuteronomy follows JE so constantly he thinks that here also a JE basis once existed. Then Mr. Wiener, in his usual courteous manner, finds that Dr. Driver adds to an ignorance of eastern methods "a most exhaustive ignorance of human nature" because he thinks that Deuteronomy knew an account of the reason why Moses was excluded from the land of promise different from that given in Numbers (Deut. 1:37, 38). While he was at work on this point, our author might have given his own solution of the problem that is raised not only by the form of this statement in Deut. 1:37, 38, but also by the *position* of these verses. Before leaving this subject it may be well to point out the danger of attempting to make the difference between western and eastern modes of expression too great. If the difference is fundamental not only is criticism impossible but the power of the Bible as a medium of revelation is seriously impaired, both for the communication of facts and the impartation of a revelation. One would think that there could be no mistake about the meaning of Gen. 29:27-28, viz., that Jacob married Rachel a week after his marriage with Leah, but according to our author this took place seven years later. This is required in order to meet one of Colenso's "quaint arithmetical exercises," and the author of Genesis shows "a true literary instinct" in his manner of arranging the story (p. 45). Thus Mr. Wiener can enter into the oriental mind, but when Mr. Addis makes an attempt to get into the heart of ancient custom he is met with ridicule and asked if he would so interpret the weeping of an English boy (p. 97). At that point the laborious effort to be satirical only produces flippancy.

It is not our business to defend all the scholars that are attacked so lightheartedly in this pamphlet, but we will venture a few words regarding the case of Dr. Skinner, who is quite capable of defending himself, if he thinks it worth while. Dr. Skinner's case is especially shocking as he did not in his commentary on Genesis pay proper attention to Professor Schlögl and Mr. Wiener. When one considers the vast amount of material that Dr. Skinner had to condense into five hundred and fifty pages, one must admit that the careful statement on the question of the use of Yahweh in MT and the versions given on two closely printed pages (xxxv, xxxvi) is a fair proportion. It is not possible to deal now with the question of the use of the divine names in the

different versions, but on one point at issue we fully agree with Dr. Skinner, viz., that even if the Hebrew text, in this particular, turns out to be less reliable than he thinks it to be, that will not alter the fact that Astruc's clue has served an important purpose in starting criticism along a certain track. The fruitful idea that Genesis was compiled from different documents has been extended, with good results, to all the historical and many of the prophetic books. Eichhorn, one of the first to follow Astruc, pointed out that there were *other differences* between the two creation narratives (Gen., chaps. 1, 2). To anyone who sees the difference in language, style, and theological atmosphere between these two pieces they would still belong to different strata even if they used the same name for God. It would be possible to follow Professor Toy in the statement that the Hebrew text has suffered greatly without coming anywhere near to the positions set forth in this book.

There is no need to examine the question of "archaeological confirmation" to which one page of this treatise is devoted, and where we are referred to Professor G. Frederick Wright's *Scientific Confirmation of Old Testament History*. Sufficient surely has been said to indicate the manner in which the author deals with the questions that the scholarship of the past two centuries has treated so seriously. There is an Old Testament problem; it is the problem of placing this great literature in its relation to the history of the world and estimating its wonderful contribution to the highest religious life of humanity. But a miscellaneous discussion of this kind gives very little help toward its solution simply because the author does not realize how impossible the old traditions have become in the light of science, archaeology, and criticism. One who shows such a self-sufficient, scornful spirit toward the workers in this great field is singularly unfitted to present any great constructive scheme. What is called "the modern view" may have its imperfections and failures, but it has been built up by the unselfish toil of a great body of students. The fads and weaknesses of particular critics count little in the face of a great movement that has unfolded itself with the inevitability of a great drama. And many of us can testify that through this great movement we have been brought nearer to the noble, heroic souls of the past and so we humbly believe nearer to the Eternal God.

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## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

SCHMIDT, NATHANIEL. *The Messages of the Poets. The Books of Job and Canticles and Some Minor Poems in the Old Testament, with Introductions, Metrical Translations and Paraphrases.* [The Messages of the Bible, edited by F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent, Vol. VII.] New York: Scribners, 1911. Pp. xxiv + 415. \$1.25.

A very interesting volume dealing, in addition to other poems, with the greatest of existing Hebrew poems. The introductory material is fresh and stimulates interest. The lists of books are extensive, unnecessarily so for a popular book like this. The metrical translation is based upon sound scholarship, but the attempt to carry over the meter of the original into English produces an effect wholly unworthy of the majesty of the great tragedy of Job.

#### ARTICLES

NICHOLS, HELEN H. "The Composition of the Elihu Speeches, Job, Chaps. 32-37," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1911, pp. 97-186.

A critical study resulting in the opinion that the section in question was a later addition to the Book of Job made up of two distinct elements, the one a critique of the genuine Job, the other a supplement to it. These are supposed to have been written by two sages in the first, or at most the second generation after the composition of the original poem.

GUNKEL, H. "The Jahu Temple in Elephantine," *The Expositor*, January, 1911, pp. 20-39.

A translation of an article originally published in a German review. It presents a survey of the contents of the papyri found at Elephantine and described in the *Biblical World*, Vol. XXXI (1908), pp. 448 ff., and Vol. XXIX (1907), pp. 305 ff. Nothing new of any importance is offered here.

MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. "The Opening Sentences of Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena,'" *ibid.*, pp. 40-50.

An attempt to show that the Deuteronomic law did not contemplate the centralization of worship at Jerusalem. The line of proof is found in the variations of the Greek text which the author accepts as representing an older tradition than the existing Hebrew text.

LOFTHOUSE, W. F. "Kernel and Husk in Old Testament Stories," *ibid.*, February, 1911, pp. 97-117.

A careful study of the patriarchal narratives from the point of view of an endeavor to discover their historical and religious significance. The author concludes that for the origins of monotheism we must go back to Abraham himself.

WARFIELD, B. B. "On the Antiquity and Unity of the Human Race," *The Princeton Theological Review*, January, 1911, pp. 1-25.

The well-known professor of systematic theology at Princeton here enters into the lists with experts in geology, biology, and anthropology to vindicate the essential correctness of the biblical view of the origin of mankind.

PATON, L. B. "Modern Palestine and the Bible: The Races of Palestine," *Homiletic Review*, February, 1911, pp. 108-12.

An illustrated article giving a survey of the historical intermixture of peoples in Palestine.

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

SOUTER, ALEXANDER. *Novum Testamentum Graece: Textui a Retractoribus Anglis adhibito brevem adnotationem subiecit A. Souter.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Pp. xxiv+480. 3s.

The Revisers' Greek text of the New Testament is here printed with a concise and convenient apparatus of the important variants, preserved in the leading manuscripts, versions, and Fathers. The selection of readings is on the whole adequate for purposes of introduction and interpretation.

HUCK, A. *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien.* Vierte, durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. xxxvii+223.

This fourth edition of Huck's useful Synoptic harmony shows many changes from the third. The introductory part dealing with textual materials is amplified, some sections are more fully printed, appearing in full in the different connections given them by the evangelists; there is some rearrangement of material, and many of the errors in the apparatus have been corrected.

WEISS, JOHANNES. *Der erste Korintherbrief.* Völlig neu bearbeitet. (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von H. A. W. Meyer.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1910. Pp. xlviii+388.

Professor Weiss's new commentary is a notable addition to the resources of New Testament study. Full use seems to have been made of the available materials, including papyri and inscriptions. Paul's lost letter to Corinth, mentioned in I Cor. 5:9 f., Weiss seeks to reconstruct out of I Cor. 10:1-22; 6:12-20, and perhaps 9:24-27, besides 11:2-34. Weiss's appeal to the loss or misplacing of "leaves" (p. xli) in the Corinthian letters prior to their collection and circulation in the second century, is incompatible with the fact that the roll, not the leaf-book, was the form of manuscript practically universal in those centuries.

## RELATED SUBJECTS

### BOOKS

THOMPSON, R. E. *The Historic Episcopate.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1910. Pp. 317. \$1.50 net.

A historical study of the idea of apostolic succession as held by the Roman Catholic and Episcopal bodies, written by a Presbyterian scholar. The work on the whole yields evidences of careful investigation and saneness of judgment.

HOOPES, W. L. *The Code of the Spirit. An Interpretation of the Decalogue.* Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 154. \$1.20.

A volume of religious essays based upon the Decalogue which endeavor to interpret the Decalogue from the point of view of modern religious needs. Alongside of, and as successor to, the Decalogue proper, a new Decalogue is offered to us.

*Studies in Christian Truth. A Series of Suggestive Courses for the Senior Divisions of Sunday Schools.* Issued with the Approval of the British Section of the International Lesson Committee. London: The Sunday School Union, 1911. Pp. 48. 1s.

These lessons are designed for the use of advanced Bible classes. They consist of mere outlines with brief introductory materials and bibliography, and on the whole use of them will add much to the efficiency of the average Sunday-school teacher.

MOTT, J. R. *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions.* New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1910. Pp. 267. \$0.50.

A survey of the present missionary situation presented in the forceful and illuminating style so characteristic of Mr. Mott.

FRANKLIN, CHARLES. *What Nature Is. An Outline of Scientific Naturalism.* Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 74. \$0.75.

A plea for the total elimination from human thought of the idea of the supernatural.

WOMER, P. P. *The Coming Creed.* Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 88. \$0.80.

This is a plea for emphasis on the coming church upon life and love rather than upon creeds. Yet the author concludes by suggesting a creed.





THE  
FIRST BOOKE  
OF MOSES,  
called GENESIS.

## CHAP. I.

The creation of Heaven and Earth, 1 of the light, 6 of the firmament, 9 of the earth separated from the waters, 11 and made fruitful, 14 of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, 20 of fish and fowle, 24 of beaſts and cattell, 25 of Man in the Image of God, 29 Also the appointment of food.

**I**n the beginning God created the heaven, and the Earth.

2 And the earth was without forme, and void, and darkeneſſe was upon the face of the deepe: and the Spirit of God mooued vpon the face of the waters.

3 And God ſaid, *Let there be light:* and there was light.

4 And God ſaw the light, that it was good: and God diuided the light from the darkeneſſe.

5 And God called the light, Day, and the darkeneſſe he called Night: and the Evening and the Morning were the firſt day.

6 And God ſaid, *Let there be a firmament in the miſt of the waters: and let it diuide the waters from the waters.*

7 And God made the firmament, and diuided the waters, which were vnder the firmament, from the waters, which were aboue the firmament: and it was ſo.

8 And God called the firmament, Heaven: and the Evening and the Morning were the ſecond day.

9 And God ſaid, *Let the waters vnder the heaven be gathered together vnto one place, and let the dry land appeare: and it was ſo.*

10 And God called the dry land, Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called ſee, Seas: and God ſaw that it was good.

11 And God ſaid, *Let the Earth bring forth graſſe, the herbe yielding ſeed, and the fruit tree, yielding fruit after his kinde, whoſe ſeed is in it ſelfe, vpon the earth: and it was ſo.*

12 And the earth brought forth graſſe, and herbe yielding ſeed after his kinde, and the tree yielding fruit, whoſe ſeed was in it ſelfe, after his kinde: and God ſaw that it was good.

13 And the Evening and the Morning were the third day.

14 And God ſaide, *Let there bee lightes in the firmament of the heaven, to diuide the day from the night: and let them bee for ſignes and for ſeaſons, and for dayes and yeeres.*

15 And let them bee for lightes in the firmament of the heaven, to giue light vpon the earth: and it was ſo.

16 And God made two great lightes: the greater light to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the night: he made the ſtarres alſo.

17 And God ſet them in the firmament of the heaven, to giue light vpon the earth:

18 And to rule ouer the day, and ouer

\* Phil. 1. 6.  
and 1. 18. 3.  
and 1. 4. 13.  
and 1. 7. 24.  
Heb. 11. 3.

in Gen. 4.

† Heb. be-  
cause the  
light and the  
darkneſſe.  
† Heb. and  
the Evening  
was and the  
Morning  
was. Gen. 1.  
Gen. 1. 5.  
1. 5. and 5. 1.  
1. 5.  
† Heb. and  
the Evening  
was.

\* Gen. 1. 5.  
15.

\* Phil. 1. 7.  
and 1. 18. 3.  
and 1. 4. 13.

† Heb. 1. 1.  
the graſſe.

\* Gen. 4.  
1. 5. 1. 6.  
† Heb. 1. 1.  
the day, and the  
evening the  
night.

† Heb. 1. 1.  
the rule of  
the day, &c.

\* Gen. 1. 5.  
15.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

APRIL, 1911

NUMBER 4

## Editorial

### THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

#### THE INCREASING USE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

The English Bible fills today a larger place in the curriculum of studies of the leading theological seminaries of this country than at any previous period in their history. The revival of the study of Hebrew which began about thirty years ago has been speedily followed by a tendency, already far advanced, to make Hebrew an elective study even for the highest degree granted by the best theological schools; and the expansion of the curriculum to include as electives the other Semitic languages and literatures has been accompanied by a decline in the number of students studying Hebrew. In the New Testament field also, in an increasingly large part of the instruction, the English Bible is used chiefly or exclusively, and the question whether New Testament Greek shall follow Old Testament Hebrew into the list of elective studies, already raised in some quarters, is likely to be earnestly discussed in the near future.

#### THE DEMAND FOR EFFECTIVE MINISTERS

Prominent among the causes that have brought about this result is the pressure of new studies upon the curriculum. This pressure has arisen largely from the increasing demand for a minister who, whether technically a scholar or not, shall be efficient in the work of the ministry. To read Isaiah in Hebrew is felt to be of less importance than the ability to make oneself a factor of influence in the life of the city and country, as Isaiah did in his day. The ability to interpret Paul's epistles with exactness signifies far less than the capacity to do for the men of today a work

comparable in influence and value to that which the courageous apostle did for his contemporaries.

#### THE CHANGED CONCEPTION OF SCRIPTURE

Along with this change of emphasis there has undoubtedly gone a change in our conception of the nature of Scripture. The exact interpretation of messianic prophecy, or of the Pauline doctrine of election, is felt to be of less importance than was once the case, in part because these doctrines are themselves of less vital significance to us. They are important because they represent stages in the development of biblical thought, but they are not finally determinative for present-day thought. This change in the estimate of doctrine has been accompanied—partly as cause, partly as result—by a transfer of emphasis from the linguistic and minutely exegetical studies to those that are more broadly historical. To read Hebrew, to know its syntax, even to interpret the books of the Old Testament, or of the New, are only means to an end; the thing desired is the discovery of the history of the religious thought and spiritual life of the Hebrew people, and the interpretation and valuation of this life with a view to the contribution which it can make to the development of the highest type of life today. As a consequence we have witnessed the rise, or the development into new importance, of such studies as biblical introduction, biblical history, and biblical theology, all of them historical studies in the strictest sense.

#### THE WIDENING OF RESEARCH

Now in all these fields, the research that is necessary to reach assured results demands not only a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, and the practice of a most exact art of interpretation, but a broad knowledge of the thought and literature of the period, and the total thought movement of the age. But precisely because of the breadth and difficulty of the studies required to prosecute researches in this field, there is a growing feeling on the part both of faculty and of students that the majority of the latter cannot prosecute original research in this field, and must therefore rely for their knowledge upon the researches of the few.

## THE CONSEQUENT DIFFERENTIATION OF MINISTERS

The perception of this fact carries with it the recognition of the necessity of a differentiation of students—not on the basis of ability, but of function—into two classes.

That there may be continual progress and not stagnation in biblical studies, a few of each generation of biblical students must not only know the languages in which the books of the Bible were written, but Syriac, Assyrian, Arabic, and Egyptian. They must not only know the story of the Israelitish kingdoms as told in the Bible, but the history of the period as learned from all available sources. They must acquire not only the art of literary interpretation, so as to be able to ascertain the meaning of the text of Jeremiah, or John, or Paul, but the even more difficult art of literary criticism, by which they may judge of the relative date of various parts of the literature. Moreover, they must acquire the art of historical construction by which from the data yielded by exegesis and criticism they may, little by little, and with gradually increasing perfection, reproduce the history of Israel's religious experience, from those early days when Jehovah was a tribal God who went out to battle against the gods of other desert tribes, to the hour of the supreme revelation of the one supreme and righteous God in Jesus the Christ.

But it is almost too manifest to require discussion, that with the enlarged scope of this task, it becomes impossible that all of those who are to be ministers, even of those who are to be reckoned as educated ministers, can be original scholars in this field. That they may give adequate attention to other phases of the work of the minister, many must be content to accept the results of scholarship in the biblical field without having themselves become original investigators.

## THE DANGER OF EXCESSIVE DIFFERENTIATION

Here, however, it is necessary to interpose a caveat. We must guard against too sharp and rigid a division between the scholarly investigator and the practical working minister. The result of such division is disastrous, whether the practical worker accepts without question the decisions of the scholar in his study

or rejects them as the vagaries of the impractical investigator, who knows books perhaps, but is ignorant of life. There must be many who, having proceeded far enough along the paths of biblical scholarship to be able to estimate intelligently the results reached by those who press on still farther, shall be able to speak from the pulpit with a knowledge that is not wholly at second hand. There must be specialization and differentiation, but the middle man, who is neither a scholar only, nor an unscholarly practical man, but both scholarly and practical, is quite as necessary as those who stand at either extreme. The gift of discernment of spirits is as important as that of prophecy or scholarship.

The study of the Bible on the basis of the original languages and the study of it through the medium of the English Version must therefore stand side by side in the curriculum of the theological school. Neither must be allowed to displace the other, or to crowd the other into a place of inferiority. The study of the Bible in English should not be looked upon as a makeshift for inferior students, nor should the study of the original languages be reserved for a few dry-as-dust would-be professors.

#### THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND GREEK MUST BE RETAINED

The study of the Hebrew language belongs in the curriculum of every thoroughly equipped theological school, and though made elective should be open to all qualified students. But it must be recognized that for the majority of students a choice must be made between the study of Hebrew on the one hand and such studies on the other hand as will furnish them with that larger and deeper appreciation of the nature and meaning of the Old Testament which cannot be secured by devotion to Hebrew grammar, lexicography, and exegesis. The average student cannot secure both of these advantages. The legitimate demand made upon his time and energy by other fields of study prevents him from giving sufficient attention to the Old Testament to enable him to feel at home both in the linguistic and in the historical and theological phases of Hebrew literature. Experience shows that when Hebrew was a required subject in the theological curriculum, the students secured, in the majority of cases, neither a satisfactory

command of Hebrew nor an adequate understanding of the meaning and value of the Old Testament.

It is to be hoped that the majority of students entering the higher grade of theological schools will come from the colleges with an already acquired knowledge of Greek. Lack of such knowledge should not indeed act as a bar to admission to the divinity school; provision should be made for the beginning of Greek, as well as Hebrew, in the theological school. The time may even come when Greek as well as Hebrew should be made elective. But for some time it seems probable that, with rare exceptions, a knowledge of one of the biblical languages should be required, in order to introduce the student to a kind of study which cannot be pursued, and to give him a point of view which cannot be acquired, solely through the study of the Bible in English.

#### THE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE EQUALLY NECESSARY

But on the other hand it is certain that such biblical study as is not only possible on the basis of the English Bible, but is most effectively prosecuted on this basis, must fill a large place in the biblical curriculum, and that this applies not only to schools which set low standards of admission and not only to the less scholarly students in schools of high grade but even to the most scholarly students in the best schools. The establishment of chairs of the English Bible is to be deprecated. It tends to imply that the English Bible is something else than the Bible; it tends to brand as unscholarly the biblical work which is done without the use of Hebrew or Greek and, by separating this work from that done on the basis of the original languages and placing it in the hands of professors who use only English, tends to make it unscholarly in fact. The English Bible should be used, not chiefly to avoid the labor of using Hebrew or Greek, but to enable professor and student to do a kind of scholarly work in which the use of the original languages, except for occasional reference, is easily dispensed with, and thus to acquire a larger and deeper knowledge of the Bible and its religion. Thus used, it becomes an instrument for the promotion of scholarship, and a means of developing an effective ministry.

## WHY THE AUTHORIZED VERSION BECAME AN ENGLISH CLASSIC

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It is a thing so rare that it may indeed be called unique when a book translated faithfully from one language becomes a literary classic in another. The presiding geniuses of both languages conspire to interpose a barrier, saying to the claimant, Thus far shalt thou come and no farther. The words of the original may indeed be turned into equivalent words, and so the rude materials of thought and information may be transferred; but the charm, the magic of melody and cadence, that nameless something

Like an Aeolian harp that wakes  
No certain air, but overtakes  
Far thought with music that it makes,

is so subtly native to the home speech and standard of taste that the translation, like an immigrant laborer, can hardly get beyond the humble office of hewer of wood and drawer of water in its new verbal mold. Equally rare is it when a classic, whether foreign or native, becomes a people's book, the friend and aider of men's daily pondering. We do not have to go to Virgil and Dante to see this. Our Chaucers and Miltons, even our Shakespeares, are rather books for the shelf than for the closet; too accurately they answer to Chesterton's definition of a classic as a book that one can praise without having read it. A truly popular classic, in fact, is as unique as a perfect translation.

In the case of the Authorized Version the unique has become the universally recognized fact. It is not only a classic, it is *the* English classic *par excellence*, true to the genius of English speech and life; and it is as truly a folk's book as if it were a book of the passing year and not a classic at all. For language and literature alike it stands pre-eminent as the great clearing-house of idea and phrase,



of story and figure, of thought literal and symbolic, the comrade of all ranks of mind from humblest to highest.

It does not belong to our province to trace the causes of this unique distinction to its religious values, as these laid hold three centuries ago on a national mind, providentially prepared to assimilate them; though this fact is of course the cause paramount. Our present concern is rather with the literary aspects of the case: the factors traceable in the adaptedness of the original idiom itself to lucidity and charm in translation, the preparedness of the English folk and age, and the fitting poise and balance of the Jacobean scholarship acting upon the materials then at command. All these, as we look at them across a space of three hundred years, appear as elements selected and combined by a wisely ordering Providence whose will it was to make His word prosper in the thing whereto He had sent it.

First, consider the adaptedness of the original idiom to lucidity and charm in translation. I have spoken of the barrier that the native genius of literature has erected, the fact patent to all literary scholars that the subtlest values of expression are untranslatable. This applies especially to the haunting magic of poetry; it applies also in its degree to the limpid grace and forthrightness of prose. The problem is, so to say, to get the exotic speech translated *all the way* from the original into English; the tendency, to leave the translation only partly detached from the foreign mold, and thus in the end to produce a hybrid thing halting between two idioms. Of course such a half-made translation as this cannot move as to the manner born in its new literary medium. But here we may note in the Hebrew language itself a remarkable mitigating quality, which in a negative way makes it almost an exception to the general law of the untranslatable. Its grammatical intricacies—the delicacies of expression which to a Hebrew ear would supposably give it the intimate haunting quality—are almost entirely confined to the permutations of the alphabet; while as it goes on through accident to syntax it becomes increasingly elemental and simple. It has, in other words, the minimum of subtle and untranslatable form, the maximum of reproducible idea. So it comes about that what in translating we have to sacrifice is what we can best afford,

may what it is often a positive advantage, to sacrifice. The puns and word-play, of which the Hebrew writers were almost childishly fond, would quite alter the spirit which we seek to share with them if we should attempt to reproduce such things. In the case of the Hebrew poetry too, we cannot think of a form better adapted to a transfer of values in translation. Its unit, the parallelism, is simply a thought-rhyme which, without essential impairment, lends itself to the natural rhythm of elevated thought. One detects indeed a certain accentual rhythm in the original, like a second poetic unit superinduced upon the first; but the attempt to reproduce it in English results in a kind of hippity-hop movement which makes sad havoc with the poetic illusion and makes the thing at best an exotic curiosity. In sum, here is a language of which the plainest and most literal treatment is incomparably the best; it seems to have been made for that, as its highest thought was made for universal diffusion and leavening. It was a kind of seminal idiom, whose mission and destiny it was to fall into the ground and die, that it might bring forth nobler fruit in other tongues. The bearing of this on the evolution of our supreme English classic is obvious. It is like a providential foundation-laying whose fitting superstructure is most truly artistic as the signs of its art are most hidden.

This brings us to the second factor, the preparedness of the English folk and age for the reception of a translation whose *rapport* with the English mind should be intimate and complete. I use the word folk advisedly; for the book which from its first beginnings in Palestine had been a folk's book was ready to meet such conditions of age and literary development as would create for it a niche where as a common folk's book it would just fit in. To enumerate all these conditions were too long a story here. For the century since the Reformation the sterling English mind had felt the hunger described by Amos: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord." Nor had there been lacking a faithful body of men, men of study like Tynedale and Coverdale, popular preachers like Latimer and Rogers, who were working to make the Bible a staple literary pabulum.

"The preaching of the word of God unto the people," quaintly says Latimer, "is called meat; scripture calleth it meat. Not strawberries, that come but once a year and tarry not long but are soon gone; but it is meat. It is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates." In the sermon in which these words occur he quoted his Scripture in Latin, and turned its words into racy idiomatic English. That was in 1549; but by the time of our Authorized Version there was no such need. Through the Calvinistic Genevan, the costly and cumbersome Bishops' Bible, and the Romish Douai version, the Bible had become accessible to all classes, especially as a basis for public reading and doctrinal controversy; still full of English barbarisms, however, and ministered to the folk's appetite too much like predigested food. The self-evidencing unity and tolerance of treatment and the solvent literary touch were still the clamant need. And meanwhile the current literary medium was becoming tempered and seasoned to meet the occasion. It was the age when Hooker and Raleigh and Bacon were purveying sound meat to the cultured, and Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were, through the popular drama, entertaining the crowds without demeaning themselves to "tear a passion to tatters and split the ears of the groundlings." The fantastic preciousness of euphuism, wherein the intense new literary life of the age had been liberated to exuberant excess, was past; the Puritan austerity of the later religious idiom was yet to come. It was the psychological moment for a simple, limpid, all-men's version of the most vital book in the world. At this moment it was that a representative body of scholars, mindful of what the great past had contributed, mindful of what the finest literary activity of their present was yielding, and consecrated to the common good, expended their unselfish labor to make the noble version of which they were humble enough to say: "Truly we never thought to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one." Of the quintessential juices they had thus extracted from the best literature of their past not least

by any means was the Hebrew idiom itself which, through this translation, by many homely turns and delicate felicities of expression alike has smitten itself into the blood and bone of our common speech. The Bible has thus been an untold formative power to mold the English language itself into that "incommunicable simplicity" which is its strength and beauty. It does not require merely the writings of Milton and Bunyan to exhibit this to us; the masterliest prose style of these later days, the style of Macaulay and Ruskin and Newman and Matthew Arnold, is colored through and through with Hebrew idiom, deriving sinew and strength from it. What Newman says of the supreme literary man has for three hundred years been true of the Bible, for cultured and common alike: "He expresses what all feel, but all cannot say; and his sayings pass into proverbs among his people, and his phrases become household words and idioms of their daily speech, which is tessellated with the rich fragments of his language, as we see in foreign lands the marbles of Roman grandeur worked into the walls and pavements of modern palaces."

I have named a third factor working to precipitate the Scripture-imbued learning of King James's age into the making of a translation which has become as it were a native classic; it is a factor concerned with accurate learning itself: the poise and balance of the Jacobean scholarship, acting upon the materials then at command. It was scholarship, not pedantry; it was master of its material, not mastered by it. The vast store of thought and literary beauty unlocked by the Revival of Learning still retained its power to inspire; it was communed with as thought, not merely as words; as vital speech man to man, not as remains of dead language. The religious element of the situation, in the case of the Bible, immensely enhanced this vigor of scholarship; men were working at a task on which not justice to the grammar and the dictionary alone but the issues of life and salvation were felt to depend. To give this legacy of truth to the English world faithfully and without shade of distortion, the whole man must be enlisted; the man with his faculties intellectual and emotional, critical and creative, in healthy poise and proportion. This seems to have been eminently true of the Jacobean scholars who made the

Authorized Version. As for the apparatus they had—manuscripts and versions, minutely edited text, side-lights from inscriptions and papyri, excavations and archaeology—they were immeasurably poorer than are we of three centuries later. Revision of the work in the interests of greater accuracy and precision is a duty that we cannot evade. We have an overwhelming access of material, increasing every day; are we of this erudite age the men to make a classic of it? Will the vast superincumbent mass of material—and, I am tempted to add, of subjective tradition—let us out from under long enough so that we can be men of letters as well as men of the student-lamp, and translate the Bible into an English corresponding alike with the literary artistry of our age and with the sublime greatness of the original? The question is a grave one. One is led to ask it when one makes comparison of modern work with the older. Take for instance a verse of Isaiah in the Authorized Version and in the American Revised: “He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken.” Here the King James translators let the simple Hebrew idiom mold their English and speak for itself. Compare the myopic, groping translation of the Revised Version, for which no prototype exists either in Hebrew or reputable English syntax: “By oppression and judgment he was taken away; and as for his generation who among them considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living for the transgression of my people to whom the stroke was due?” Here we seem to read the translation of a man (or committee) who was at once benumbed by the weight of the verse and bewildered as to its meaning. English classics are not apt to result from such a mood. It may make something laboriously carved out of wood, but hardly the vital charm or imperial dignity of literature. These examples are not adduced, however, to attribute an evil savor to the Revised Version. It, too, is a noble monument of scholarship. I desire rather to make this point clear: that if a translation would become a satisfaction to the genius of its adopted language, it must traverse *all* the space from the original to its new medium, must not only come *out of* Hebrew and Greek but *into* an English adapted in spirit and idiom

to produce the same degree of effect. When, for instance, a passage of the translation is left with an unmotivated mixture of past and present tenses, or of archaic and modern endings of the verb, it may be scrupulously exact, but there are jolts and crudenesses in the English that have no counterpart in the original. And to leave these in the translation is to bring to it only the lexical and pedantic sense, not the intimate literary. Here, if I were to criticize the present-day biblical scholarship, would be my indictment. The bewildering abundance of their material, with the tyrannous obligation to be faithful to it, has impaired the poise and freedom of their literary judgment. Their English smells of the lamp and of the workshop. Much less truly was it so with the men of Shakespeare's time who gave to English literature its supreme classic. I am sometimes tempted to think that their relatively lean apparatus was a positive advantage to them in the task which Providence had set them; their text was so much less clouded with minute disturbances to a large and liberal rendering. The Book was not so overlaid with bibliography. The great biblical poets and prophets could speak for themselves without so much clatter of glosses and various readings. We could fitly address them as Tennyson apostrophized his favorite Latin poets, Virgil and Horace and Catullus:

If, glancing downward on the kindly sphere.  
That once had roll'd you round and round the Sun  
You see your Art still shrined in human shelves,  
You should be jubilant that you flourish'd here  
Before the Love of Letters, overdone,  
Had swampt the sacred poets with themselves.

Thus to the man of letters the way by which the Authorized Version became an English classic lies before us, luminous with the footsteps of Providence. And the same way stretches still onward toward the duty which three centuries of progress have made imperative. The new task is harder than the old one, harder by reason of the very embarrassment of riches. Nor is there lack of scholarship to meet it, more earnest and exacting than ever. But a scholarship that is merely academic and cloistered is not in true touch with its high mission. The ages have contributed abundant gold of

material; what a pity it were if, like Aaron, an undigested scholarship should have some time to say, "I cast it into the fire and there came out this calf." And if in justification we should urge our untempered zeal to tithe the mint and cummin of erudition, the weightier matters of our mother-tongue would meet us with the uncompromising reproach: "This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." Only on such terms is the way of the classic still open.

## ENGLISH VERSIONS BEFORE 1611

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Englishmen have read the Scriptures in their own tongue for more than a thousand years. It was one of the most sacred tasks of the Venerable Bede to give to his countrymen in the very year of his death (735) a translation of the Gospel of John. From the age that followed, that brilliant age when Lindisfarne and Whitby and Jarrow were centers of northern learning until the coming of the Danes, we have various versions of the gospels and Psalms. By the time of King Alfred's death (901) there had been produced in addition Old English versions of the historical books of the Old Testament, and perhaps of other portions of the Scriptures. Some of these have been attributed to the pious industry of the great king himself.

But if we reckon from the Norman Conquest, the earliest English versions are of course those produced toward the close of the fourteenth century by John Wycliffe and his followers. It appears that the project of rendering the Bible into the common speech of England was one of the very latest that engaged the attention of the great Oxford reformer of Chaucer's age. When Wycliffe was formally tried and convicted in 1382, among the many charges brought against him this was not explicitly mentioned. Though the New Testament had doubtless been completed by that time its existence could not have been widely known. A paralytic stroke later in the year 1382 must have impaired his energies, but the revision of the New Testament is supposed to have been finished during the following two years preceding his death, December 31, 1384.

Wycliffe had committed the translation of the Old Testament to his disciple Nicholas of Hereford, whom he had doubtless met at Oxford. Hereford suffered condemnation with his master in 1382, but escaped death by the powerful assistance of John of



Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, a patron of the Lollards for reasons best known to himself. Hereford's work seems suddenly to have been interrupted by the trial and never resumed; for in the original manuscript, still preserved in the Bodleian Library, the translation ends at Baruch 3:20. The remainder of the Old Testament and the revision of the whole work belongs to a second Wycliffite scholar, John Purvey. He was superior in scholarship to Hereford and did much to improve the crude literalisms of his predecessor. Hereford, indeed, in his slavish adherence to the Vulgate idioms, produced a monstrosity never paralleled except by some of the most striking infelicities of the translators of Rheims and Douay. His version was therefore largely superseded by Purvey's. The revised Bible appears to have been completed at Bristol by 1388. Purvey, like Hereford, was threatened with death, but like him escaped through a measure of recantation. The later life of both these men is one of discreet conformity under the severe régime of Henry V. Their work on the Old Testament, though by no means equal to Wycliffe's on the New, is worthy of remembrance as the first complete translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into English.

Purvey's prologue setting forth his principles of translation is a document quite as interesting in its way as the preface of King James's time. The four steps enumerated by Purvey are as follows:

To gedere manie elde bibles, and othere doctoris, and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe, and thanne to studie it of the new, the text with the glose, and othere doctoris, as he mighte, and speciali Lire [Nicholas de Lyra] on the elde testament, that helpid full myche in this werk; the thridde tyme to counsel with elde grammarians and elde dyvynis of harde wordes and harde sentences how these mighte best be understode and translated; the fourthe tyme to translate as clearlie as he coulede to the sentence, and to have manie good felawis and kunnynges at the correcting of the translacioun.

"Many good fellows and cunning" besides these three, Wycliffe, Hereford, and Purvey, doubtless contributed to the improvement and diffusion of the Lollard versions. Although the circulation of them was absolutely forbidden by the Convocation of Oxford in 1408, the rigors of fifteenth-century inquisitors did not suffice to stop their increase. More than one hundred and fifty manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions now in existence belong for the most

part to the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI. It is a mistake to suppose that the delay of the English Reformation meant that Tudor Englishmen were entirely without the Scriptures until Tyndale. While the Middle English of Chaucer's age was of course obsolete and obscure by the accession of Henry VII in 1485, yet these manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions seem to have been in use well on into the sixteenth century. With all their crudities, their utter dependence on the Vulgate, and corrupt texts of the Vulgate at that, they had a large part in keeping the evangelical leaven at work during the long strife of York and Lancaster.

Although William Caxton introduced printing into England in 1471, more than half a century was to elapse before the English Bible was put into type. Before the end of the fifteenth century continental printers issued translations of the Bible (from the Vulgate, of course) in all the important languages of Europe, Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, German, and Bohemian; but in England the attitude of church and state made the printing of Wycliffe's version out of the question, and the time had not yet come for a new translation from the original. When the new learning reached Oxford at the end of the reign of Henry VII, the university became a center of Greek studies for eager young scholars from every quarter of the kingdom. Hither came William Tyndale, a native of Gloucestershire, to study under Grocyn, Linacre, Latimer, and Colet. In 1510 he went to Cambridge to join the classes of Erasmus. By the time that he returned to the West about 1521 to earn his living as a tutor and private chaplain, his plan was well fixed to translate the New Testament. His opinions led to local controversies, in one of which he uttered his famous promise that "if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did."

Tyndale's bold plan was original, for he had announced it before the publication of Luther's New Testament in 1522. But, failing to secure in London the co-operation of Bishop Tunstal, he left England in 1524 and is supposed to have made his way to the headquarters of the German Reformation at Wittenberg. It is also supposed that it was here that Tyndale learned Hebrew and completed his translation of the New Testament. The printing

of this book, the first English version since Wycliffe, and the first ever made from the Greek, was completed at Worms in 1526. Of the six thousand copies said to have been printed only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant: an eloquent testimony to the vigilance of the officers of church and state who proscribed the work. The printers of Antwerp who repeatedly issued unauthorized editions to supply the growing demand in England had no hesitation in selling wholesale lots to the emissaries of Tunstal for destruction. With the proceeds of such sales they promptly issued new impressions. Tyndale's New Testament was admirably advertised by the bitter attacks upon it of Sir Thomas More.

Meanwhile Tyndale was writing controversial works and translating the Pentateuch. That this translation was made from the Hebrew, not from Luther, may be demonstrated by a critical comparison of the three texts together with the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's Hebrew scholarship was formerly underrated, but it is now generally believed that he worked with greater freedom and facility in this field than either of his immediate successors. He did, of course, avail himself of Luther's and the other German versions; but unlike Coverdale he varied at will from Luther and the Vulgate when they did not adequately render the Hebrew.

Tyndale's work on the first modern English Bible, including the Pentateuch, Jonah, perhaps the later historical books, and the New Testament, is the work that ought to be chiefly remembered with gratitude for all time to come. Whatever may be said of the translation of 1611, most that is best in it goes back to Tyndale. While his tragic death at Vilvorde in 1536 prevented him from completing the Old Testament, it is not too much to say that the simple, vigorous style of his version became the model for all later translators; and that what we now call biblical English, unapproachable for directness and for grandeur, is his. "Many good fellows and cunning" have had a hand in it in later days, but the honor is due to him who labored in danger and in exile, hunted and harassed, striving to fulfil the dream of his youth by bringing the word of God home to the ploughboys of his native land.

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Tyndale's Version of the Pentateuch*, The University of Chicago Press, 1906.

rested.

# Deuteronomium.

abundance of the sea and the treasures hid  
in the lande.

And so God he said: Blessinge haue God/  
which maketh rowme. He dweller as a vs/  
and spyleth harme and the toppes of heade.  
And he sawe his beginning that the heape of  
the treasure haue hidde there and came with  
the miserie of the people: executed the rygh-  
teousnesse of the Lord: and his iudgement  
on Iherusalem.

And so Dan he said: Dan a yong: Leuon  
he shal come from Esau.

And so Iherusalem he said: Ephraim shal  
haue abundance of pleasure: and shalbe full  
of the blessinge of the Lord: his possi-  
sion shalbe toward the West and South.

And so Iherusalem he said: After ye blessed with  
fornice accept: be ye vnto his cherubim: and  
dippe his foor in oyle. Vpon an iustice: on his  
foules: Thine age: as his youth.

There is no God as the God of the iust.  
Be that fitteth vnto beauen: be thy helpe. And  
his glorye is in the cloudes: that is the dwell-  
ing of God from the beginning: and vnde-  
r his armes of the world. And he shal come  
outshine enemye before the: and say: Be de-  
stroyed. And Iherusalem shal dwell safe alone. The  
eye of Jacob shalbe vpon the lande where  
come and wine is: beauen also shal dippe  
with dew. Happie art thou Iherusalem: who is  
kef vnto the: O thou people that art saued by  
the Lord: which is the helpe and blide: and the  
foward of thy glorie. Thine enemye shal pine  
away: and thou shalt tread vnto the height  
of them.

The XXXIII Chapter.

And so Moses wente from the felde of the  
Moabites: vnto mount Nebo: vpon  
the toppes of mount Pisga: ouer against Jeri-  
cho. And the Lord showed him all the lande  
of Gilead vnto Dan: and al Ephraim: and  
the lande of Ephraim and Manasse: and all  
the lande of Iuda: vnto the uttermost sea: and  
toward the South: the regis of the plaine:  
of Jericho: the cune of the palme trees: euen  
vnto Doar. And the Lord said vnto hym:  
This is the lande that I sware vnto Abraham/  
Isaac and Jacob: and said: I wil geue it vnto  
thy seed. Thou hast seene it with thine eyes:  
But thou shalt not go ouer thither.

So Moses the seruant of the Lord dyed  
there in the lande of the Moabites: according  
vnto the worde of the Lord. And he buried  
him in a valley in the lande of the Moabites/  
ouer against the house of Peor. And no man  
knewe of his graue vnto this daye. And Mo-  
ses was an hundred and twenty yere olde  
when he dyed: his eyes were not dimme: a  
his chokes were not fallen. And the children  
of Israel wept for Moses in the sid of the Iordan  
Moabites therty dayes. And the dayes of  
the weeping and mourning for Moses were  
fulfilled.

And Josua the sonne of Nun was filled  
with the spere of wisdom: for Moses  
had laied his hande vpon him: and the el-  
den of Israel herced vnto hym: and dyed  
as the Lord commaunded Moses. And  
there arose in Prophete more in Iherusalem  
vnto Moses: whom the Lord knewe face  
to face in al tyme: a wonder of the world: the Lord  
sent hym to go in the lande of Egypt: vnto  
Pharaos: to al his seruantes: a his lande:  
in al this myghthe hande: a great wisdom:  
whiche Moses dyd in the sight of al Iherusalem.

The ende of the fyfte booke of Moses: cal-  
led Deuteronomium.

## The booke of Josua.

The first Chapter.



After the death of Moses the  
seruante of the Lord: the Lord  
spake vnto Josua the sonne of Nun: Mo-  
ses minister: My fre Lorde  
saunt Moses is dead: vnto  
now: a go ouer this Ier-  
dane: thou and all this people into the lande  
that I haue geuen the children of Israel: I haue  
the places that I sware of your fete: that trade  
vpon haue I geuen vnto you. So Josua  
vnto Moses: from the wilderness: and this  
Libanus: vnto the great reyn: Euphrates: Al  
the

THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE: COVERDALE'S

(Edition of 1537)

Yet the first complete modern English Bible was a noble achievement, and for it Miles Coverdale deserves high praise. Those who have turned the pages of the handsome volume, printed at Zürich in 1535, must marvel at the industry of the man who so laboriously rendered the Scriptures out of "Douche and Latyne." Coverdale was said by Foxe to have helped Tyndale translate the Pentateuch, but this statement is now unanimously discredited. Coverdale's Hebrew scholarship was not large. The five versions which he mentions as his sources are generally supposed to have been the Vulgate, the Latin of Pagninus, Luther, the Zürich version of Leo Juda, and Tyndale; or perhaps in place of one of these should be substituted the Latin translation of the Old Testament by Sebastian Münster, the great Hebraist, published in 1534. But while in translating the Old Testament he depended chiefly on the German versions, and cannot be credited with much original or consistent scholarship, we must give him all due honor for transforming the crudities of the Wycliffite English into the fine sonorities of our Psalms and prophets. It is true that there were many changes in the Old Testament between 1535 and 1611, but Coverdale's English can be detected through them all. Without the zeal, the learning, or the consistency of Tyndale, he had still that feeling for prose rhythm that was so rare even in Tudor days, and now is well-nigh lost out of English speech.

Coverdale's Bible was followed in 1537 by that which passed under the name of Thomas Matthew, really the work in large measure of the martyr John Rogers. This was made up of Tyndale's Pentateuch and (according to tradition) historical books, Coverdale's version of the remainder of the Old Testament, and Tyndale's New Testament. The changes consisted rather in the omission of controversial notes and prologues than in alterations of the text. Matthew's Bible reached England at a time when the king was about to reverse his policy toward Bible translations. Bishops and clergy had for years been petitioning for a new translation to supply the public demand and to take the place of Tyndale's polemical version. Both Cranmer and Cromwell urged Matthew's Bible upon the favorable consideration of the king. It now became a matter of political scheming to continue the process of national-

izing the English church by making a virtue of necessity in authorizing a translation. Accordingly we have the interesting spectacle of the king and his archbishop formally licensing for public use a version of which at least one-half was the proscribed text of Tyndale. Matthew's Bible may indeed be called in a sense the first authorized version; though that title belongs more properly to its immediate successor, the "Great Bible" of 1539.

This latter work, named from its imposing folio form, was carried through by Cranmer with the co-operation of his leading bishops, some of whom are stated to have made new translations of the portions allotted to them, while others evidently did no more than revise Coverdale's text. Coverdale himself was employed by Cranmer to see the Bible through the press. Printing was begun at Paris, but after interference by the Inquisition the sheets, presses, and type were removed to London, where the work was completed in 1539. With its title-page containing an engraving of the king delivering copies of the Scriptures to clergy and laity, the volume was evidently in the fullest sense authorized. The second edition (1540) bore on its title-page the statement, "This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches." It is for this reason that its version of the Psalms was used in the Book of Common Prayer, where it has remained ever since. The Great Bible was not a new translation but a careful revision from a conservative standpoint. Between the extreme on the one hand of Tyndale, who would use no word of ecclesiastical connotation such as "church," "charity," "penance," and the equally extreme demand of Bishop Gardiner, who would have had nearly a hundred Latin words transferred from the Vulgate without translation because of their "majestic" associations, Cranmer and his associates steered a middle course.

During the two generations that elapsed between the Great Bible and the reign of James, many editions appeared. Of these the most important were the Geneva Bible (1560), the Bishops' Bible (1568), and the Roman Catholic version published at Rheims (New Testament, 1582) and Douay (Old Testament, 1609-10).

The Geneva Bible is of greater popular importance than any other version before 1611 for the reason that, owing to its conven-

ient form and its Calvinistic origin, it became the Bible of early Puritanism, and indeed the household Bible of Elizabethan England. It was edited by three Englishmen resident in Geneva, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson, and was printed there in 1560. With its roman type superseding the black letter of earlier versions, its novel division into verses, and its marginal commentary, it soon became widely popular. At church one heard the text of the Great Bible, or after 1568, of the Bishops' Bible, an official revision of Cranmer's made at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; but in the homes, in the secret and public assemblies of the Puritans, on the lips of the common people, were the phrases of the Geneva version.

How slight after all were the differences in all these sixteenth-century versions after Coverdale's is best realized by contrast with the strange and rude phraseology of the Roman Catholic translation of Rheims and Douay. This rendering of the Vulgate in its earlier forms stands alone among English Bibles since Hereford in its singular infelicities and obscurities of style.

It is fitting to point out in conclusion that the English style of the Bible is not, as is sometimes supposed, the prevailing prose style of Jacobean or of Elizabethan England, as anyone may see who reads Bacon and Jonson and Sidney. Neither is it the prevailing style of the reign of Henry VIII, as anyone may see who reads Sir Thomas More and the ecclesiastical writers of that period. In its simplicity it is in part an inevitable reflection of the original, but chiefly the inheritance from the New Testaments of Wycliffe and Tyndale who, because they were lovers of the people, put the people's book into the people's speech. And in its dignity, especially in such works as the Psalms and the prophets, it inherits through Coverdale the best qualities of the Latin and German versions which he employed. At no period before or since the sixteenth century has the English language been so well adapted to the perfect translation of sacred books. In that age when Saxon straightforwardness in narrative and Latin dignity in exalted discourse reached perfect balance, it was our happy destiny to have the Word of God "treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

## THE DOUAY VERSION

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The conditions that provoked the publication of the Douay Bible were the significant events in England of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries inclusive. During that period the Reformers and their forerunners published various English versions to meet the demand for the Bible in the vernacular. By the latter part of the sixteenth century it was becoming evident that the Bible was to be read by the masses. But these Protestant editions were frequently accompanied by notes often of a controversial nature. The situation finally drove the Romanists into competition. If the people would have the Bible, it was obviously better that it should be one the translation and notes of which would not include sentiments at variance with the Roman belief and practice.

Now the state of affairs that had developed during the reign of Elizabeth had placed the Catholics in a position very similar to that of the Protestants during the reign of Mary. Many found themselves exiles. Among them was one William Allen, scholar and educator, through whose efforts an English Catholic college was established at Douay, Flanders, in 1568. As a result of political difficulties the institution was moved to Rheims in 1578, but moved back to Douay in 1593. Allen recognized the insistency of the popular demand for the Scriptures and wisely made extensive and careful preparation for yielding to it. A scholar of high rank, he associated with himself in the undertaking four other eminent Oxford men: Gregory Martin, reputedly the greatest Hebraist and Greek scholar of his day, Richard Bristow, Dr. Reynolds, and Dr. Worthington. The results of the labors of these five men were the publication of the New Testament with notes by Allen and Bristow at Rheims in 1582, and of the Old Testament with notes by Worthington at Douay in 1609. To the work thus published in



two parts have been applied two designations—the Rheims and Douay Version of the Bible, or the Douay Bible.

As indicated in the preface to the Rheims New Testament, the purpose of the work was to grant the “desires of many devout persons” and protect the faithful from being led astray by erroneous and corrupt versions so often accompanied by heretical interpretations. A sentiment somewhat similar was expressed in the preface to the Old Testament. The translators made it plain, however, that, so far as their own opinion was concerned, translations in themselves were not desirable.

When the men began their work, Jerome’s Bible, the Latin Vulgate, had already been declared by the Council of Trent (1546) to be the authorized version of the Roman Catholic church. The particular edition of which such authorization should be predicated had not been specified by the Council but left to the decision of the pope. The text that eventually became official was the final edition of the revision made under Clement VIII. This was brought out in 1598 and has since been known as the Sixtine or Clementine Vulgate. The translators used the Vulgate as the basis of their work, in particular a text published at Louvain, but a comparison of the date of the publication of the Rheims New Testament (1582) with that of the Clementine edition, just quoted, indicates at a glance that the text of the former could not have been identical with that of the latter. Keeping in mind the position of unparalleled importance demanded by Catholics for the Clementine Vulgate, the question arises, How can Romanists consistently justify authenticated use of a version not based upon that edition? However, one modifies one’s tendency to be adversely critical when one recalls that William Allen, conspicuously instrumental in determining the basic text for the Rheims Testament, was also one of the editors of the Clementine Vulgate. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, before it was published at all it was revised by the Standard Vulgate. So much for the primary basis of the Douay Bible. Secondary sources of assistance were the original Greek text, a parallel Latin-English Testament brought out by Coverdale, and Wycliffe’s and Tyndale’s versions. In view of the circumstances that provoked the Douay, the use of the last three

is certainly interesting. Why not interpret it as an evidence of broad-minded earnestness on the part of the translators?

The text produced, in spite of many undesirable features, reflected the conscientious effort of undeniable scholars. Necessity for change there undoubtedly was, but it is to be attributed to ecclesiastical prejudice rather than to a deplorable lack of scholarship. As a whole there was a slavish adherence to the Latin, so extreme in fact that it resulted at times in absolutely unintelligible phraseology. An illustration from each Testament will suffice—Ps. 57:10: "Before your thorns did understand the old briar: as living so in wrath he swalloweth them"; Rom. 9:28: "For consummating a word and abridging it in equity: because a word abridged shall our Lord make upon the earth." Again, at times the Douay translators, because of an undue veneration for the Vulgate apparently, refused to profit by opportunities of correction that a comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts would have made possible. Consequently, passages were retained in which a meaning quite different from the original was presented. In some cases a controversial bias seems to be evidenced by such retention: Gen. 3:15 was rendered, "*She* shall bruise thy head." This was an ultra-literal translation from the Latin, justified by neither the Hebrew nor the Greek. The Protestant Authorized Version gives the masculine in place of the feminine pronoun. On the basis of the gender of the pronoun however the Catholics had derived a deal of defense for the worship of the Virgin Mary. This biblical support of their doctrine the translators would not relinquish. Incidentally the Protestant Genevan Version does not lack evidence of a corresponding prejudice. This same exaggerated regard for the text led at times to what was almost a transliteration instead of a translation—Matt. 6:11: "*supersubstantialem*" is rendered "*supersubstantial*" where the Protestant versions give us "*daily*" bread. The net result was a style that later was characterized by the great Catholic scholar Geddes as a "*literal and barbarous translation from the Vulgate.*"

The writer has wondered whether the deficiencies in the translation could not be traced in part to the attitude of the translators toward their work. Tyndale, for instance, entered upon his labors

inspired by a passion to meet human need. His main object was not the preservation of a book as a book, nor the conservation of ecclesiastical traditions, nor the upholding of a hierarchy, but a contribution whereby to enrich life. Scholarly, possessing a genius for language, infused with a love for message and people alike, he produced a style that to this day provides the pattern for all prose style, unsurpassed in its musical qualities, its dignity, its sober earnestness, its simplicity and lucidity, its power of appeal to all classes. In the great contrast that the Rheims-Douay version presented to Tyndale's translation one may detect perhaps, as cause thereof, the attitude of the translator to his work in each case. Tyndale's version was a spontaneous response to meet need; the work of the Douay scholars was a reluctant concession to an uncontrollable demand.

With all its defects, however, the preservation of many words of Latin derivation in English translation is to be credited to the Douay version. Among such words are "impenitent" (Rom. 2:5); "propitiation" (3:25); "expectation" (8:19); "contribution" (15:26); "rejected" (I Tim. 4:4). Whole phrases and sentences could be cited from Protestant Authorized and Revised versions which come direct from the Douay.

The text of the whole Douay Bible was supplemented by extensive notes of a controversial nature. The preface of the New Testament included along with the expression of the purpose of the translators some severe criticisms of Protestant versions. The inadequacy and incorrectness of the translation in some places, in conjunction with the nature of comments and notes, brought forth a storm of protest from the Protestants but apparently with little effect. Meanwhile revised editions of the Douay Bible appeared in rapid succession, the process being punctuated at intervals by new Catholic translations, due in part to Romanist criticisms similar to that expressed by an Irish priest named Nary, who wrote of the Douay Bible: "The language is so old, the words so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so literal that in a number of places it is unintelligible."

In the middle of the eighteenth century Richard Challoner, Douay scholar and bishop of London, brought out his famous

revisions: that of the Rheims edition in 1749, compared with the authorized Clementine edition; and the whole Bible in 1750. His work included an extensive revision of the notes, and so far as the text is concerned his efforts resulted in what was almost a new translation much like the Protestant Authorized.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Challoner's purpose was the production of a text intelligible to his readers, and beyond question, in importance among all the Catholic translations, it has taken rank second to the Douay only.

Next in extensiveness of circulation have been the Irish texts of a priest named Bernard MacMahon and Archbishop Troy of Dublin (1783-91); that of the latter was designated "fifth edition." Matthew Carey of Philadelphia brought out in 1790 the 1750 edition of Challoner, and in 1805 Troy's 1791 "fifth edition."

The multiplication of texts continued, inevitably resulting in much confusion. To modify it, a liberal element in the Catholic church began to advocate attempts to bring Catholic and Protestant versions into accord. But this situation provoked more revisions on the part of the conservative element. The Challoner Old Testament and the Rheims New Testament usually constituted the bases of these revisions. One issued with the approval of Archbishop Murray of Dublin (1815) has become prominent; also another with Cardinal Wiseman's sanction (1847). In 1862 Archbishop Kenrick of Philadelphia brought out an excellent version of the Bible. The Old Testament was the product of a scholarly comparison of the Hebrew with the Vulgate; the New Testament translation, a careful revision of the Rheims New Testament compared with a good translation of the Gospels by Lingard, 1836. But so great was the popular veneration for the Challoner-

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Newman wrote of it: "Looking at Dr. Challoner's labors on the New Testament as a whole we may pronounce that they issue in little short of a new translation. They can as little be said to be made on the basis of the Douay as on the basis of the Protestant Version. Of course there must be a resemblance between any two Catholic versions whatever, because they are both translations of the same Vulgate. But this connection between the Douay and Challoner being allowed for, Challoner's Version is even nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay. . . . It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at this day the Douay Testament no longer exists as a received version of the Authorized Vulgate." Cardinal Wiseman may also be quoted: "To call it any longer the Douay or Rhemish Version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as originally published."

Douay that Kenrick's work, acceptable as it is from a scholarly point of view, failed to gain any real circulation. Today it is out of print. In 1899 a revision of the Challoner-Douay was brought out with the approval of Cardinal Gibbons. Since it is almost an exact reproduction of Challoner, one is at a loss to know how to interpret the statement that one finds in the preface, "This is an accurate reprint of the Rheims and Douay Edition with Dr. Challoner's Notes."

In view of all these versions and revisions, who then shall say which shall constitute the authentic one? Many and diverse are those that have been in general and permitted circulation. Moreover, the most common editions usually bear, not the name of their original reviser, but rather that of some subsequent editor or of the archbishop who stamped them with his approval, so that it is difficult to determine the origin of the text quoted. Roughly speaking, however, some form of the Challoner Old Testament is commonly used among English-speaking Catholics. Regarding the New Testament, apparently there is no *textus receptus* of the Rheims Version. The tendency seems to be to follow Challoner in Ireland, and Challoner and Troy in England and America. Many authentic editions there are, but not one authorized one. The Catholic church knows only one authorized Bible and that is the Clementine Vulgate of 1598. The policy of the Holy See appears to have been and to continue to be to allow much independence to various Catholics in local authority, and tradition has so authenticated the Douay Bible to the public at large that Catholic translators who do not in some way, at least nominally, connect their work with the Douay Bible apparently cannot win any permanent circulation for it.

In closing we may note that through the influence of the Wycliffe and Tyndale versions on the Rheims-Douay, of the Rheims-Douay on the Authorized and Revised Protestant editions, of the Protestant Authorized upon the modern Challoner, the passing of time marks a conspicuous tendency in the direction of an approximately similar text. In fact, today the writer knows of Protestant theological students who have used the Gibbons Challoner-Douay version unconscious of the fact that it was not a familiar Protestant text.

When one compares the situation that produced the Douay Bible with the present situation that makes possible a practical conformity of texts presented by standard English Catholic and English Protestant versions, one realizes that with the march of centuries men of diverse faiths are coming more and more to emphasize their common ties as befitteth brotherhood.

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## THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The special phase of the theme committed to the writer is that pertaining to the Hebrew text of the Authorized Version, and to improvements of the Hebrew text since 1611.

What Hebrew text or texts formed the basis of the work of the revisers who produced the Old Testament of the King James Version? On the face of it, it could not have been the "Textus Receptus," for that is the edition of Van der Hooght, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1705. Neither could it have been any single one of the many Hebrew texts of that time, as attested by the thousands of marginal notes of the 1611 edition. Scrivener<sup>1</sup> reports these marginal notes to the number of 6,637, of which 4,111 express the more literal meaning of the original Hebrew or Aramaic (there are 77 referring to the latter language); 2,156 give alternative renderings, "which in the opinion of the translator are not very less probable than those in the text; in 63 the meaning of proper names is stated for the benefit of the unlearned"; in 240 necessary information is given by way of harmonizing the text with other passages of Scripture, especially in regard to the orthography of Hebrew names; while the remaining 67 refer to various readings of the original, in 31 of which the marginal variation (called *Q<sup>erê</sup>*) of the Massoretic revisers of the Hebrew is set in competition with the reading in the text (*K<sup>ethibh</sup>*).

The preface to the Authorized Version has little to say on the subject. The quaint document reads:

If you aske what they had before them, truely it was the Hebrew text of the Olde Testament, the Greeke of the New. These are the two golden pipes, or rather conduits, where-through the olive branches emptie themselves into the golde. Saint Augustine calleth them precedent, or originall tongues; Saint Hierome, fountaines. The same Saint Hierome affirmeth, and Gratian

<sup>1</sup> *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible 1611*, p. 41.

hath not spared to put it into his Decree, That as the credit of the olde Bookes (he meaneth of the Old Testament) is to bee tryed by the Hebrew Volumes, so of the New by the Greeke tongue, he meaneth by the originall Greeke. If trueth be to be tried by these tongues, then whence should a Translation be made, but out of them? These tongues therefore, the Scriptures wee say in those tongues, wee set before us to translate, being the tongues wherein God was pleased to speake to his church by his Prophets and Apostles.

These statements give us no clew to the Hebrew text or texts which the revisers used. The term "Hebrew Volumes" may allow us to infer that they had at hand several volumes, either those of different editions, or of one of the several-volume editions.

Ginsburg<sup>2</sup> describes twenty-four editions of parts, or of the whole of the Hebrew Bible, which appeared between 1475 and 1530. These were prepared from manuscripts preserved in private or public collections in Italy, Portugal, or Spain. The earlier editions consisted either of portions of the Bible from a manuscript or two, or of the whole Old Testament printed from only a few manuscripts. The most complete text of these early editions is that of the *Second Edition of the Rabbinic Bible, or the editio princeps of Jacob ben Chayim with the Massorah* (Venice, 1524-25). Jacob ben Chayim was an untiring worker, whose energy and enthusiasm aroused Bomberg and induced him to father a noble enterprise. This is quaintly told in Jacob ben Chayim's own words in the Introduction to his work, as follows:

When I explained to Bomberg the advantage of the Massorah, he did all in his power to send into all the countries in order to search out what may be found of the Massorah, and praised be the Lord we obtained as many of the Massoretic books as could possibly be got. He was not backward, and his hand was not closed, nor did he draw back his right hand from producing gold out of his purse to defray the expenses of the books and of the messengers who were engaged to make search for them in the most remote corners and in every place where they might possibly be found.<sup>3</sup>

This Introduction of Jacob ben Chayim shows how diligently he sent out after every known bit of material that would aid him in preparing an edition of the Hebrew Bible that would be relatively complete in its presentation of the Massorah. After several

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 779-976.

<sup>3</sup> C. D. Ginsburg, *Jacob b. Chayim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, pp. 8, 77.



years of prodigious labor which showed wide learning and broad Hebrew scholarship he was enabled through the munificence of Daniel Bomberg to complete the work. It was published in four folio volumes by Bomberg in Venice, 1524-25. This great work has been the basis of almost all our later Massoretic texts of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Jacob ben Chayim's description of his work in preparing this wonderful edition is evidence that he made use of all previous editions of the Hebrew Bible, and of such manuscripts as were available in the different countries visited by his messengers. In all probability he also had at his disposal the Hebrew text of the Complutensian Polyglot which had been officially published at Alcalá, Spain, in 1520. This text, however, would have added little to his equipment because it represented few manuscripts, and it would have had no Massoretic critical value because of its numerous errors.

Valuable additions to the available number of Hebrew Bibles which appeared during the next eighty years were the Third Rabbinic Bible, 1547-48; the Fourth Rabbinic Bible, 1568; and the so-called Antwerp Polyglot of 1569-72, issued under the patronage of Philip II, hence sometimes called *Biblia Regia*, edited by Aries Montanus.

There was thus an abundance of editions of the Hebrew Bible at hand for the translators of the Authorized Version. But all those that appeared subsequently to the Second Bomberg edition (1524-25) are based on that text, or are of value in so far as they conform to the collations of the Massorah printed in that work.

Scrivener<sup>4</sup> says:

Respecting the Hebrew text which they [the revisers] followed, it would be hard to identify any particular edition, inasmuch as the differences between early printed Bibles are but few. The Complutensian Polyglot, however, which afforded them such important help in the Apocrypha, was of course at hand, and we seem to trace its influence in some places. . . . Yet the Complutensian throws no light on the readings in many other passages, where some other text must have been before the translators.

The abundance of marginal notes, already mentioned, testifies to the presence in the hands of those translators, of several editions

<sup>4</sup> *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible 1611*, pp. 42 f.



of Hebrew texts, as well as those of the other prominent versions in other languages. But no scholar up to the present time has been able specifically to put his hand on any edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible and say: "This was the text from which the translators of the King James Version translated the Old Testament."

The second part of the theme to be treated by the writer is the revisions of the Hebrew Text since 1611. The revisers of the King James Version made use of a considerable number of Hebrew texts of the Old Testament. The numerous marginal notes confirm the supposition. After the appearance of the Authorized Version, scholars continued to publish editions of the Hebrew Bible. The long succession of these is indicated in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.<sup>5</sup>

Immediately following the appearance of the Authorized Version Bible students were greeted with the publication at Paris of a Polyglot Bible in ten folio volumes (1629-45), later called the Paris Polyglot. This was followed shortly (1657) by the London Polyglot, edited by Bishop Walton in six folio volumes. The Hebrew text of these massive works was in the same lineage with and was practically no improvement upon that already issued in the Bomberg Bible of 1524-25.

The first subsequent edition of the Hebrew text which commanded the attention and confidence of scholars was that of Van der Hooght, which was published at Amsterdam in 1705, though it was practically a reprint of the Athias-Leusden edition (Amsterdam, 1667). This was so favorably regarded that it was soon recognized as a kind of *textus receptus* of the Old Testament, and has been used as the basis of the editions of Houbigant (Paris, 1753), Kennicott (Oxon., 1776), Hahn (1832), Letteris (Vienna, 1852). This last was reprinted in large clear type by the British and Foreign Bible Society (Berlin, 1866), and by Wiley & Sons of New York (1872-75). The first Hebrew Bible printed in America was published by William Fry of Philadelphia in 1814, from the Hebrew text of Van der Hooght, the Hebrew *textus receptus*.

During nearly all the first three hundred years of the printed

<sup>5</sup> Vol. III, p. 161.

Hebrew Bible there had been only one serious successful attempt to gather into one work the variants of all known Hebrew manuscripts. That was attempted and completed by Jacob ben Chayim in 1524-25. Every other editor and publisher had been satisfied with the use either of a few manuscripts, or of a few manuscripts and a printed text. The latter half of the eighteenth century saw a new awakening in this line of investigation. Benjamin Kennicott, an Englishman, at the suggestion of Professor Lowth, began to collect the variants in the available Hebrew manuscripts. Beginning in 1760, with the aid of a number of scholars, and at an expense of about \$50,000, he succeeded in collecting and having collected the variant readings of 694 manuscripts, and almost numberless editions. These variants pertain to the consonants only. The results of his and others' arduous labors were published at Oxford in 1776-80, in two folio volumes.

Inspired by the example of Kennicott, De Rossi, a professor in the University of Parma, Italy, visited libraries and collections of Hebrew manuscripts for the purpose of discovering variant readings. He found and collected the variants of 732 manuscripts and 310 editions. Of all these Kennicott had seen only eighty. In 1784-88, De Rossi published four volumes quarto, and in 1798 a supplemental volume embodying the results of his investigations. Kennicott and De Rossi together compared 1,346 different Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament, and 342 reported editions, or 1,686 different manuscripts.

One of the most important results of these investigations is the fact that the basal Hebrew text underlying all the 1,686 manuscripts examined by these two scholars and their helpers was practically one and the same. Nevertheless these variants thus collected put at the disposal of all Hebrew scholars a mass of material valuable for critical processes.

Not until the last half of the nineteenth century did scholars make another serious attempt to improve the Hebrew *apparatus criticus*.

In 1869, Seligman Baer, with the collaboration of Professor Franz Delitzsch of the University of Leipzig, began to edit anew the books of the Old Testament in Hebrew, following the Mas-

soretic tradition. This work continued to appear in parts until 1895; and covered nearly the entire Old Testament. It was based on no special antecedent text, but claimed to have gathered the best of the available Massorah.

Ginsburg<sup>6</sup> very sharply criticizes the Baer-Delitzsch text on several counts. Some of these were due, as indicated in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. I, p. 434), "to Baer's inability to consult manuscripts in the large European collections." In spite of some rather arbitrary innovations in the Hebrew text, Baer did a valuable service in emphasizing the real value of the Massorah in the interpretation of the Old Testament.

From 1863 down to the present time, Christian D. Ginsburg of London has been a most ardent student of the Massorah. He collected all the available extant remains of that material and published three volumes in 1880-86. On the basis of these collections he edited a new text of the Old Testament in 1894 under the title, *The Massoretico-Critical Text of the Hebrew Bible*. To this he wrote an almost exhaustive Introduction, a volume of first importance in the study of the Massoretic Hebrew Bible (1897). The climax of Ginsburg's life-work is promised us soon, in a newly printed text, of which we have had a sample in the book of Isaiah, with the Massorah based upon the best extant manuscripts and editions collated in almost fifty years of diligent research.

In 1893, Paul Haupt, professor in Johns Hopkins University, with the co-operation of a number of scholars, began the publication of *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament: A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, Printed in Colors*. . . . This edition is not based upon an extended study of the Massorah, but is rather the result of the application of critical processes.

The latest noteworthy edition of the Hebrew Bible is that edited by Rudolph Kittel, professor in the University of Leipzig (1905-6), in co-operation with eight other Old Testament scholars. This edition is based substantially on the second Bomberg Bible, edited by Jacob ben Chayim (1524-25). Its purpose is to present not only a reliable Massoretic text, but also in footnotes the most

<sup>6</sup> *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897.

important variant readings of the Hebrew, of the chief versions, and also emendations of textual critics and commentators. This Kittel edition has added much useful material for students of the Hebrew Old Testament, even though it may have added little to our present knowledge of the Massorah.

In conclusion it may be said that the present equipment for the study of the Hebrew Old Testament is somewhat in advance of that of 1611. No new manuscripts of any consequence have been discovered in 300 years, but scholars have assiduously studied what we have, and have embodied their results in the latest texts already described. Our present hope is that Ginsburg, now in his eightieth year, may soon give us the most complete Masoretic Hebrew Bible ever published.

## THE GREEK TEXT IN 1611

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We have today so many editions of the Greek New Testament at our command that it is hard to put ourselves in the place of English scholars during the first ten years of the seventeenth century, as the time for the preparation of the new translation drew nigh. The translators may in their private reading have used some one or other of the smaller editions that had left the press. We may, however, be sure that on the occasion of their great work they used some notable text, however much their private reading may have affected occasional words; and in any case, the readings of their private copies must in the main have been drawn from the more important editions then in existence.

The chief editions before 1611 were the Complutensian of 1514, which was apparently not issued until 1522; the five editions of Erasmus, 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535; the Aldine edition of 1518; Simon de Colines' edition of 1534; Robert Estienne's four editions, 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551; Théodore de Bèze's four large editions, 1565, 1582, 1588 (also dated 1589), and 1598, with the small ones of 1565, 1567, 1580, 1590, and 1604; Henry Estienne's edition of 1576, and the two editions in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1571 and 1572. With the exception of the Complutensian, these editions were all for the most part drawn from the edition of Erasmus of 1516; that is to say, the greater part of the Greek words in them were found in that earlier volume, whatever the immediate source of the text for each printer might happen to have been. But Simon de Colines, Estienne of 1550, and Bèze of 1582 had certain manuscripts besides the earlier prints.

Of course it is important for us to know from what manuscripts all these editions were drawn. We are acquainted with the larger number of them, although we are not able to say from which manuscript the Complutensian text was drawn. That is of less

disadvantage, seeing that that edition was not reprinted until 1821. Yet some of its readings were put by Erasmus into his fourth edition of 1527. Still, little as we can say touching the precise leaves of parchment or paper upon which those manuscripts used at Alcalá were written, we are able most decidedly to determine what kind of a text they, or some of them, contained. For it lies before our eyes in the edition. Those manuscripts gave the Alcalá editors the common, everyday, late text that everybody was using.

As for Erasmus, his manuscripts are in our hands. Unfortunately he failed to use the best one of them, manuscript 1 of the gospels, for more than a few passages. His only manuscript of Revelation left him here and there in the dark, so that he was compelled to translate a Greek text for himself from the Vulgate in these places. The worst use of a manuscript in all his five editions was the result of a rash promise and was extremely disagreeable to him. He promised to print the three heavenly witnesses in I John 5:7, 8, if they were found in a single Greek manuscript. When it was then declared that these witnesses were found in manuscript 61, he printed them in his third edition of 1522. For myself I suppose that the text of the Catholic epistles in that manuscript was written after Erasmus had made the ill-judged promise, and for the especial purpose of compelling him to print the words.

We do not know what manuscript or manuscripts Colines used, but it was, or they were, very good, and the history of the printed text of the New Testament would have been very much more creditable to its early editors if Colines could have persuaded his stepson Robert Estienne to take the readings of these manuscripts instead of going on in the old rut. For the Regia, his third, edition, Robert Estienne gave in the margin the readings of fifteen manuscripts, but he followed in his text the fifth edition of Erasmus. Bèze drew his text from Estienne's fourth edition of 1551, though he at the same time consulted two manuscripts belonging to himself, the Codex Bezae, or D of the gospels and Acts, and the Codex Claromontanus, or D of the Pauline epistles.

Herewith we have before us the material with which the translators of 1611 had to deal in the Greek texts which they had in



their hands. The printed texts which they used were of the latest and worst class of text. The science of textual criticism could scarcely be said to have begun. Here and there someone, as for example Lukas of Brügge, had tried to discuss readings, but there was no broad basis of testimony on which to rest. Scholars were in a manner groping in the dark.

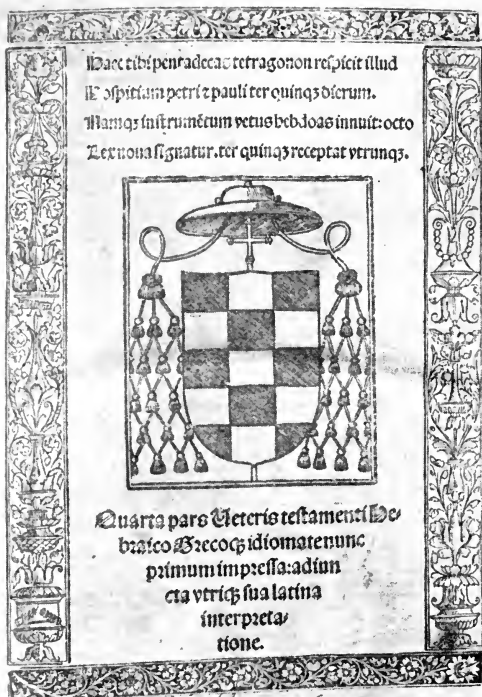
Oxford came to the front in 1675, eighteen years after the labors of Brian Walton with the London Polyglot. John Fell withheld his name, it is true, but his work remained and the impulse he gave to John Mill issued in the most learned, comprehensive, and judicious treatment of textual questions that the world received before the year 1881. The great philologist Bentley failed to sum up his decades of critical work by completing an edition. But Bengel in Württemberg in 1734, and Johann Jakob Wettstein in 1751 and 1752, published monumental editions. It was Wettstein who first brought order into the chaos of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. By that time scholars of insight had reached the point of distinguishing clearly between the current text, which tradition and church usage forced upon editors and publishers, and ancient texts which demanded for themselves a respectful consideration.

Johann Salomo Semler furthered the study of the text but found little recognition for this part of his work. His pupil Johann Jakob Griesbach collated and edited the text with unwearying eye and hand, coupled with much learning and sound common-sense. And Karl Lachmann, a classical and a modern philologist, a second Bentley, exercised great influence upon the study of the text and opened the way for the renewed work of theologians.

The middle years of the nineteenth century from 1840 to 1875 saw the work of two men open and ripen. Tregelles in England and Tischendorf at Leipzig collated and edited manuscripts of the New Testament and the New Testament itself until their pens fell from their hands. They found textual criticism comparatively despised and its treasures in disorder. They left it in a place of honor, with all its chief monuments in print at the service of scholars, or so carefully collated that editions were hardly needed.

One thing more was left to be done. Tregelles and Tischen-

dorf had made the witness of the Greek manuscripts known. They had, however, not reached the point of writing the history of the text in its chameleon forms. This Westcott and Hort gave to us in the year 1881, in an introduction from the pen of Dr. Hort.



#### THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT

(Title-page of Part IV, 1517)

Since that time, for thirty years, men have been industriously discussing the text. Thus far, in spite of all the work that has been done, no one has produced valid arguments refuting their main statements. All or nearly all of the points that have been urged against their theses will be found by a careful reader to have been noticed and discussed by them.

We have glanced at the way in which the text of the New

Testament was edited before the year 1611, and we have seen what men have since then busied themselves with it. It will be worth while to ask now how far the work of the later years had affected the worth of the text used in 1611. At the outset, in order to bring this text of 1611 into clear union with the older editions, which were very much like each other, it is well to learn from Ezra Abbot the result of his researches on this point. He says that the Authorized Version agrees with Estienne 1550 in about forty readings in which it differs from Bèze 1589, and that it agrees with Bèze 1589 in about ninety readings in which it differs from Estienne 1550. It differs from both these editions in about thirty or forty, mostly trifling, points.

These two editions were grounded, as we have seen, upon the testimony in general of a very few, very late manuscripts. There were, it must be conceded, few good manuscripts in the hands of the editors, but these were not used or not followed to any great extent. To take then the close of the series of names just given, the editions of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort were grounded upon the testimony of a long list of ancient manuscripts. They had at their call more large-letter manuscripts than Estienne and Bèze had small-letter manuscripts. The number of good manuscripts of both kinds used by them was overwhelmingly large in comparison. Add to this that the ancient translations of the text into Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Latin, if not so well known as they are today, were at least far better known than in 1611. And finally, Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort were in a position to use both manuscripts and editions of the works of church writers which no one could command in 1611.

From this new vantage ground we are able to judge of that text in a totally different way from the translators in 1611. We are able to see and to say definitely that the text of Estienne and of Bèze is one with which no church that has learned what the science of language, the science of tradition, and the science of history is, can for a moment be contented to deal.

To begin with, it must be emphasized that no educated Christian dare for a moment think of using a text for his most sacred book that is a jot or a tittle less than the very best one that he can get. He may himself wear a shabby coat, he may even be so careless

as to let the church in which he worships go to rack and ruin, but he must have the word of God in the clearest, surest, best form in which it is to be had. Anything less than that is a crime. To say, "the old text is good enough for me," is to despise and belittle the word.

When we compare a good new text with that old text, we find that there are a great many little things in which the new one is better and truer to the original. It may very well be that no one's salvation depends on these little things, but they are nevertheless to be set right. At one place a word or six words have dropped out by accident as some scribe copied a manuscript centuries ago. We must put them back again. At another place a man who owned a manuscript has written on the margin a word which he meant should explain for a later reader a given word in the text. It never occurred to him that anyone would suppose that it was meant to be put into the text. But after ten or a hundred years a stranger copying the manuscript takes the explaining word for an addition to the text and copies it into the text alongside of the word it was meant to make clear. Perhaps he even goes so far as to make it take the place of the other word. Now we do not want that man's commentary. We wish to have the real text.

There are, however, cases which are much more important than these. It was seen above that Erasmus, unwillingly indeed, put the three heavenly witnesses into his third edition. Now there are many people who wish to keep those words because they consider them the great proof text for the doctrine of the trinity. That doctrine is not in the New Testament. It is a thing of the fourth century and of the council of Nice. Now this sentence about the three heavenly witnesses does not belong in the New Testament. Properly speaking it is found in no Greek manuscript although it stands in three out of our thousands of manuscripts, in a certain way. But the curious thing is, not that it does not belong in the New Testament, but that it appears to have been put into the New Testament by Priscillian. Who was Priscillian? He is an interesting man. He was a warm and devoted Christian. He was a Spanish bishop. He was a heretic. He was excommunicated by the synod at Saragossa in 380. His opponent, Bishop Ithacius, had more influence with the usurper Maximus at Trier than

Priscillian, and Maximus had the latter executed at Trier in the year 385. He is supposed to have been the first heretic who was murdered. And he did not believe in the Trinity. He was what we may call a Christ-ian. He thought that Christ was all in all. The words are no part of the New Testament and must be left out.

Then we have the story of the woman taken in adultery in John 7:53—8:11. Now I have no doubt that the story itself is as old as the Gospel of John or even older, and that it is a true story. But it is no part of that gospel. That is perfectly sure. The best thing to do with it would perhaps be to put it like an appendix at the close of the gospel. It stands there in some manuscripts. Some few manuscripts put it into the Gospel according to Luke, but it does not belong there either.

The end of the Gospel of Mark, 16:9-20, does not belong to that gospel. Perhaps those verses were written by Aristion. The Freer Logion, in one of Mr. Freer's manuscripts at Detroit, is a still further addition to these verses and quite an interesting one, and gives us words purporting to have been spoken by Jesus. They are not genuine and the whole passage is not genuine.

But enough of that. The text that was used in 1611 was not a good one. It will take many a year to bring the mass of Christians to giving up some of the words that nevertheless must fall. Our God is a God of truth and we cannot go before the people with a lie on our lips and say that something is a part of God's word which we know is no part of it.

If, however, such changes in our knowledge have occurred since the year 1611, should we not fear that that will go on indefinitely? No. There may be some few important changes. One is now becoming clearer year by year. But we have no reason to suppose that anything like such changes as were named above will again be necessary. We have now so many and such good witnesses to the text, from so many lands and from such ancient times, that it is not likely that large parts of the text will again be called in question.

The translators in 1611 did the best they could according to their knowledge of the text and of its meaning. The revisers of 1881 did the same, and we may continue in the way they opened up and from time to time do all we can to bring the church to see and know just what the original text of our holy book has to say to men.

## THE ACCURACY OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The position of the King James Version as an English classic is secure. No other version, whatever its merits, is likely to enter into this glorious heritage. It is perhaps the noblest monument of the English language in the time of its greatest perfection and vigor. But it occupies this position because it is not in the strict sense of the term a version at all; it is a revision. Its language was not in any true sense the creation of the band of scholars whom King James called together to make the revision. One needs only to compare the language which the revisers use in their preface with that which appears in the text to be struck at once with the immense contrast between the two. The chief merit of the revisers is to be found in the fact that with great skill and wisdom they avoided their own vernacular and adhered most closely to the language of the earlier versions.

It is to Tyndale, and his successors who produced in due order the versions of the Bible known as the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the Bishops' Bible, that we must turn to find the source of that English pure and undefiled from which has issued the stream which has satisfied the aesthetic as well as the spiritual longings of so many generations of English readers.

It seems appropriate therefore that we should consider for a moment the exact nature of the task which was set before these men. By the rules which were laid down for their guidance, either by the king himself or with his approval, they were directed to follow "the ordinary Bible used in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, and to alter it as little as the truth of the original will permit." And according to the fourteenth rule they were permitted to use the versions of Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitechurch (ordinarily known as the Great Bible), and Geneva

by saint Matthæwe.

11.

# The Gospel by Saint Matthæwe.

The first Chapter.

1 The genealogie of Christe from Abraham. 18 The mariage of his mother Marie.  
20 The angel faithfully Iosephes mynd. 22 The interpretation of Childe's names.



- 10 \*Echias begat Manasses, \*Manasses be-  
gat Amnon, \*Amnon begat Iosias.
- 11 \* Iosias begat Jerchonias & his brethren  
about the tyme they were capied away to  
Babylon.
- 12 And after they were brought to Babylon  
\* Jerchonias begate Salathiel, \*Salathiel  
begat Zosobabel.
- 13 \* Zosobabel begat Abud, \* Abud begat  
Eliahim, \*Eliahim begat Azor.
- 14 Azor begat Sadoc, \* Sadoc begat Achin-  
toch, \*Achin toch begat Eliud.
- 15 Eliud begat Eleazar, \*Eleazar begat Mat-  
than, \*Matthan begat Jacob.
- 16 Jacob begat Ioseph the husbande of Ma-  
rie of whom was borne Iesus, that is called  
Christe.
- 17 And so al the generations from Abraham  
to David, are fourteene generations: & from  
David vntill the carrying away into Baby-  
lon, are fourteene generations: and from the  
carrying away into Babylon vnto Christe,  
are fourteene generations.
- 18 The birth of Iesus Christe was on this  
wise. 17 When as his mother Ma-  
rie was betrothed to Ioseph (before they came to-  
gether) she was founde with childe of the  
holy ghost.
- 19 Then Ioseph her husbande, being a right-  
eous man, and not willing to make her a  
publique example, was minded privately to  
put her away.
- 20 But whyle he thought these thynges, be-  
holde, the angel of the Lorde appeared vnto  
him in a dycarne, sayinge, Ioseph thou sonne  
of Dauid, feare not to take vnto thee Ma-  
rie thy wife: for that whiche is concelued in her,  
is of the holy ghost.
- 21 She shall baryng forth a sonne, and thou  
shalt cal his name \* Iesus: for he shall saue his  
people from their sinnes.
- 22 (All this was doome, that it might be ful-  
filled, whiche was spoken of the Lorde by the  
prophete sayinge,  
23 \* Behold, a virgin shall be with childe, and shall  
baryng forth a sonne, and they shall call  
his name Emmanuel, which is by interpre-  
tation, God with vs.)
- 24 Then Ioseph, beinge warned from sleepe,

- 31 **T**his is <sup>the</sup> booke  
of the generatio  
of Iesus Christ,  
the sonne of Da-  
uid, the sonne of  
Abraham.
- 1 \* Abraham be-  
gat Nahor, \* Na-  
hor begat Ia-  
cob, \* Jacob be-  
gat Judas, and his brethren.
- 2 \* Judas begat Phares, & Zera of Thamar,  
\* Phares begat Elrom, \* Elrom begat Ar-  
ram.
- 3 \* Aram begat Aminadab, \* Aminadab be-  
gat Naasson, \* Naasson begat Salmon.
- 4 \* Salmon begat Boos of Rachab, \* Boos  
begat Obed of Ruth, \* Obed begat Jesse.
- 5 \* Jesse begat Dauid the kynge, \* Dauid the  
kynge begat Solomon, of her that was the  
wife of Aste.
- 6 \* Solomon begat Roboam, \* Roboam be-  
gat Abia, \* Abia begat Asa.
- 7 \* Asa begat Iosaphat, \* Iosaphat begat Jo-  
ram, \* Joram begat Othias.
- 8 Othias begat Ioatham, \* Ioatham begat  
Achaz, \* Achaz begat Echias.

Gen. 22.3  
Ioh. 2.2.8  
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Gen. 22.100

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE

(Edition of 1572)

when they agreed better with the text than the Bishops' Bible.<sup>1</sup> Their faithful acceptance of these conditions is indicated in their own words in the preface to the original edition of the Authorized Version: "Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that wee should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better or out of many good ones one principall good one." And while as they say they had before them "the Hebrewe text of the Olde Testament and the Greeke of the New," yet they recognized that they were not "the first that fell in hand with translating the Scriptures into English and consequently destitute of former helpes." And not only did they use freely these former English "helpes" but they also made use of all the helps available, consulting the "Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke, Latine, and also Spanish, French, Italian and Dutch." With all these helps they toiled slowly and painfully as they say. "We did not disdaine to reuise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anuill that which we had hammered: but hauing and using as great helpes as were needfull, and fearing no reproach for slowness, nor coueting praise for expedition, wee haue at the length through the good hand of the Lord upon us broughte the worke to that passe that ye see."<sup>2</sup>

The text thus produced was a resultant of the earlier versions, agreeing most closely perhaps with the Bishops' Bible, but introducing numerous variations from other sources. Bishop Westcott collates Isa., chap. 53, in the Authorized Version with the Bishops' Bible in the editions of 1568 and 1572 and notes forty-three cases in which the Authorized Version departs from the Bishops' Bible, and finds that "as far as the variations admit of being reduced to a numerical form, seven-eighths are due to the Geneva version either alone or in agreement with one or both of the Latin versions. . . . Three times the Geneva version is abandoned and once the rendering appears to be independent."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these rules see Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 150-53; Eadie *The English Bible*, II, 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The preface is quoted from "the exact reprint in Roman letter of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611 in large black letter folio," Oxford, 1833.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 345.



My own examination of 159 words in Ezek. 38:1-6, representing 80 words in the Hebrew, shows that there are 4 words which are rendered slightly differently from the translation in either Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Genevan, or the Bishops' Bible, while in ten other cases the Authorized Version agrees with the Geneva as against the other editions. These comparisons might be extended indefinitely and they would undoubtedly all support the conclusion that the revisers of 1611 adhered most faithfully to their function as revisers.

A word must now be said about the Hebrew text which was available for the revision of 1611. Among the numerous editions of the Hebrew Bible which had appeared since the publication of the first complete edition at Soncino in 1488, one, the second Rabbinic Bible issued at Venice in 1524-25 under the editorship of Jacob ben Chayim, presented a text which is said by Christian David Ginsburg to have settled the Massoretic text as it is exhibited in the present recension of the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> That is, the revisers of 1611 had the same standard text as the one which we use today, and therefore in the matter of text they were as well off as the editors of our most recent revision. This statement applies of course only to the Old Testament. The preface of the English revisers to the edition of 1885 states that they adopted the Massoretic text as the basis of their work and departed from it as the translators of the Authorized Version had done, only in exceptional cases. But while this text is generally reliable, it is by no means perfect. There are many unintelligible passages and many places where it must be regarded as corrupt, perhaps irremediably corrupt. Now a reasonable translation may sometimes be secured by the aid of the ancient versions, as was done in a few cases by the translators of the version of 1611. In other cases, however, a rendering was forced upon the faulty text with no marginal note to indicate the true state of affairs. Many of these translations are unimportant, but others are of considerable significance for the general historical interpretation of the Old Testament. Such a passage is found in I Sam. 14:18, translated by the Authorized Version:

<sup>4</sup> Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 956.

"And Saul said unto Ahiah, Bring hither the ark of God. For the ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel." Here the second clause in the original is unintelligible, while the statement of the first can hardly be correct because it is in distinct contradiction to other statements in Samuel about the fate of the ark.<sup>5</sup> Here the Septuagint offers an intelligible and consistent text and translation which, whether correct or not, should certainly have been presented in the margin. One or two more cases in which the Authorized Version ignores an unintelligible or corrupt text may be cited. The clause in Deut. 18:8*b* is almost certainly corrupt; the translation of the text, "besides that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony," is really forced on the original and the marginal rendering does not help matters. The original of II Sam. 4:6*a* is wholly obscure, and such passages as Ps. 9:6, or 16:2-4, really defy translation. In 9:6 it is true that the marginal renderings do indicate the difficulty but not the real unintelligibility of the text. It is of course too much to expect that in the general state of critical scholarship at the time of the formation of the King James Version, any considerable attention should be paid to intricate problems of textual criticism, but it cannot be regarded as unfair at this time to call attention to the fact that in many cases the King James revisers were unfaithful to their text in so far as they failed to make evident in some way or other that it was hopelessly obscure or unintelligible.

Attention may be called briefly to the treatment accorded by the King James revisers to the variant readings which are actually preserved in the Massoretic text, chiefly in the so-called *Q<sup>e</sup>rî* as distinguished from the *K<sup>e</sup>thîbh*. Here their policy would seem to have been purely eclectic and more or less arbitrary. Neglect of the *Q<sup>e</sup>rî* in Isa. 9:3 produced the incongruous negative clause "not increased the joy," instead of the evidently correct rendering which is suggested in the margin of the Authorized Version and incorporated into the text of the Revised Version. In Exod. 21:8 the Authorized Version adopts the correct *Q<sup>e</sup>rî*, "to himself," instead of the *K<sup>e</sup>thîbh*, "not." So in II Kings 20:4 the Authorized Version adopts the *Q<sup>e</sup>rî*, "the middle court," instead of the *K<sup>e</sup>thîbh*, "the

<sup>5</sup> I Sam. 7:1; II Sam. 6:4.

middle city," which is followed by the Revised Version. But it is needless to multiply instances; those which have been cited sufficiently illustrate the method.

The Authorized Version as a translation is, generally speaking, remarkably faithful to the Hebrew idiom. This is not strange when one considers that the two languages, depending as they do largely upon the relative order of the words rather than upon elaborate inflections, have many elements in common. This was noticed by Tyndale, who in 1528 wrote in the preface to his treatise, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, "And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into English word for word."<sup>6</sup> How true this is must be apparent to anyone who compares the English with the Hebrew in almost any passage chosen at random. The majestic creation narrative in Gen., chap. 1, making allowance for the difference in the order of subject and verb in the English and Hebrew respectively, is almost a verbatim rendering of the Hebrew, though occasionally the palm for terseness must be given to the original. The "without form and void" of the English, for example, is certainly inferior to the "*tōhū wābhōhū*" of the original. How closely the English follows the Hebrew may clearly be seen in vs. 4, where the peculiar Hebrew construction in which the subject of the subordinate clause is attracted into the principal clause is retained, so that we read, "And God saw the light, that it was good," instead of the more distinctly English order, "And God saw that the light was good." In fact very many of the peculiar phrases and turns of expression which are current in our vocabulary of worship and devotion, and with which we are so familiar that we instinctively think of them as pure English, are, in reality, only naturalized Hebrew phrases. This is well illustrated by such combinations as the following: "Rock of Ages," "Sun of Righteousness," "God of my salvation," "Holy of Holies," "oil of gladness," "ways of pleasantness," and many other similar phrases.

But even in the construction of sentences, the English follows

<sup>6</sup> Mombert, *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, 117.

the Hebrew very closely in many instances. A striking example of this is seen in the constant employment of the distinctly Hebrew introductory formula, "And it came to pass," with its less frequent counterpart, "And it shall come to pass." And in the clauses following these formulas, the English conforms closely to the idiom of the original, simply changing the impossible Hebrew co-ordinate conjunction to the simplest English equivalent, "that," "as," "then," or some similar word. This close adherence to the Hebrew order in construction has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Sometimes the relation of words and clauses is left very uncertain. In the translation of Ps. 17:7, a passage which in the original has only six words, the relation of the phrase, "by thy right hand," is not absolutely certain and the Authorized Version by transferring the phrase gives only one of two possible interpretations. It must be said that, in this respect, the Authorized Version has a decided advantage over the very clumsy but more literal rendering which is given by the British Revised Version. Another case of an ambiguous word is found in the same psalm (17:15): "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." Here the words, "with thy likeness," unquestionably modify the verb "satisfy," but a very popular interpretation connects them with the verb "awake," and derives from them an argument for the resurrection. Another case of literal translation, which is especially bad, noted by the American revisers in the preface to the American Revised Version, is found in Ezek. 20:17, "nevertheless mine eye spared them from destroying them," where the meaning is, "so as not to destroy them" or as the American revisers have it, "mine eye spared them and I destroyed them not."

A consideration of these facts gives some justification for the criticism of Selden in his "Table Talk:" "But the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrases. The Hebraisms are kept and the phrase of that language is kept."<sup>7</sup> This very transfer of phrase and idiom, while it makes the English translation exceedingly simple and picturesque in its diction, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. Biblical speech is not infrequently connected with anything but biblical thought. And

<sup>7</sup> Selden, "Table Talk," in Arber's *English Reprints*, p. 20.

hence the necessity constantly arises to translate even biblical English into the thought and speech of everyday life.

It is interesting to note, in connection with this adherence to the original in syntax and style, the constant employment of synonyms to express the same idea instead of the use of the same English word. The revisers of the King James Version justify this action and assert that they thought the opposite course "would savour more of curiositie than wisdom, and that it rather would breed scorne in the Atheist, than profite to the godly Reader." It must be admitted that there are arguments in favor of this action of the revisers, but all things considered, it would seem that for the purpose of a version, the object of which is to bring the thought and spirit of the original as accurately as possible to the one who can learn that thought and spirit only through the medium of the translation, the avoidance of this profusion of synonyms would have secured better results. In fact it is to be noted that many of the objections which are raised to criticisms of this sort, and indeed to the recent revision of the Bible as a whole, are based, not on considerations of the Bible as a version and a medium of communicating the thought of an ancient and remote people to the modern man, but solely on the estimate of the Authorized Version as an English classic. It is well to keep the two ideas in mind, but it is hardly fair to call the man who wishes a more accurate rendering of the thought of the original a pedant.

There are other excellences of the Authorized Version which might be mentioned, such as the felicitous rendering of the so-called infinitive absolute by the emphatic adverb as in the words, "thou shalt surely die," where Coverdale, for example, has, "thou shalt die the death," or, "I will certainly return," or, "the waters returned from off the earth continually," or, "the kine went along the highway lowing as they went." Here the variation from the original in order and phraseology is very slight but it results in a definite translation rather than a transference of idiom.

Detailed and minute criticism has pointed out many errors in translation of single words and phrases which were unavoidable in the state of Hebrew and Semitic scholarship at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many of these errors have been remedied

in the recent revisions. It has been learned, for example, that the supposed proper name Belial is not a "proper" name at all and that instead of "sons of Belial" we should probably render "base fellows." Our revisers thought that the words in the obscure song in Num. 21:14, "what he did in the Red Sea," should be given, "Vaheb in Suphah"; but if Professor Schmidt is at all on the right track in his rendering, "Yahwe came, dried the Red Sea, with other streams, Arnon as well," then the recent revisers are as far from the truth as were those of 1611.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, as the doctrine of the Hebrew tense forms has come to be better understood, it has been seen that there are numerous errors in the Authorized Version in the translation of these verb forms. One of the most common errors is in the translation of the frequentative tenses. It is certain, for example, that in Exod. 17:11 the rendering should be, "whenever Moses held up his hand," etc.; or in Exod. 33:7 ff. the tenses should be frequentative, "Moses used to take . . . .," and "whenever Moses went out unto the Tabernacle," etc. A distinct mistranslation occurs in Gen. 12:1, "Now the Lord had said," which can only be rendered, "And the Lord said."

But these criticisms of the Authorized Version as a version do not affect its place as an English classic which has been the inspiration of much of the best English writing in all subsequent generations. Nor do they touch the religious and historical significance of this wonderful book. It is worthy of the eloquent tribute of Bishop Westcott, "Our version is the work of a church and not of a man. Or rather, it is a growth and not a work. Countless external influences, independent of the actual translators, contributed to mould it. . . . Our Bible in virtue of its past is capable of admitting revision without violating its history. As it has gathered into itself . . . . the treasures of manifold labours, so it still has the same assimilative power of life."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Messages of the Poets*, 323.

<sup>9</sup> Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 369-70.

## THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1611, AS A TRANSLATION

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Everyone has felt the force and charm of the King James Version. The vigor, dignity, and simplicity of its language have made for it a notable place in English literature, while its continued use for three hundred years has freighted almost every phrase of it with a wealth of lofty and sacred associations. Not only is it an English classic, but it has well served the religious needs of ten generations of readers and hearers.

But in the New Testament the revisers of 1611 had a text by no means identical with that which now prevails. The character and deficiencies of that text are treated in another article. We are here concerned with the use they made of it. It is generally held that at just this point the companies of 1611 were at their best. Their Old Testament text was, we are told, nearly as good as ours, but they were a little weak as Hebraists; the Greek text on which they had to base their New Testament, on the other hand, was corrupt, but their Greek scholarship was excellent. That is, in the Old Testament they made poor use of a good text; in the New, they made good use of a poor text. Whether this bold generalization holds true of the Old Testament or not, it fairly summarizes the situation for the New and, in general, where our modern renderings of the New Testament depart seriously from the King James Version, a corrected Greek text will be found at the bottom of the change.

Given the undoubtedly inferior Greek text, however, upon which alone the Oxford and Westminster companies of 1611 had to build, what shall be said of their work? A willing mind should be as they themselves put it, "accepted according to that a man hath and not according to that he hath not." Did they deal skilfully and faithfully with the text they had? It is of course true that not all that we find in our Authorized Version originated

with them. They sought to preserve wherever possible the language of the Bishops' Bible (1568), of which they may be regarded as the revisers. But the renderings which they took over from it and those which they themselves originated are both, though in different senses, their own.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first matters to be observed in examining the King James Version somewhat closely is its freedom. Its producers were not hampered by a false notion that a Greek word or construction must always be represented by the same English equivalent. In this they were obviously right. Indeed, they rather sought variety in translation. It was doubtless this in part which gave to their version its naturalness and vigor. Some examples of this are instructive. The word *δέ* is rendered "now," "then," "but," "and," or is even omitted. The word *οἰκοδεσπότης* is translated "master of the house" (3 times), "householder" (4 times), and "goodman of the house" (5 times). The word *ἐξαυτῆς* is rendered "immediately" (3 times), "straightway" (once), "presently" (once), and "by and by" (once: Mark 6:25). This last case seems a toning down to suit the context. The treatment of *γίνομαι*, often so difficult to translate, is varied. "There was a cry made" (*κραυγὴ γέγονεν*, Matt. 25:6); "till all these things be fulfilled" (*ἕως ἂν πάντα ταῦτα γένηται*, Matt. 24:34). Other meanings are "be," "fall," "be ordained to be," "come," "be done," "come to pass," "become," "be shewed," "be wrought," "grow," "arise," "be brought." Two or three of these are perhaps overtranslations, but in general they only show the flexibility and vigor of the translators' English, and the soundness of their English feeling. Yet their treatment of certain words is not altogether easy to understand. The noun *ἀγάπη*, for example, is steadily rendered "charity" in I Cor., chap. 13, where it appears nine times. The same word occurs eighteen times in I John, where it is always rendered "love," and this is the prevailing word for it in the Version. Doubtless this apparent inconsistency is in part explained by the fact that the word charity had a

<sup>1</sup> It must not be forgotten that the Authorized Version was more than once modified in details, in the eighteenth century, and, as it appears in modern copies, differs very much in spelling, and somewhat in the use of italics, from the edition of 1611.



different content in 1611 from any now connected with it. Certainly there are instances ("penny" for denarius, "filthy lucre," etc.) where English speech has quite grown away from the phraseology of 1611, leaving it misleading or meaningless.

A similar freedom characterizes the treatment of tenses in the King James Version. The graphic presents (*παραλαμβάνεται, ἀφίεται*) of Matt. 24:40, 41 are rendered by futures: "the one shall be taken, and the other left." This translation is reasonable enough, although the Greek might have been more closely imitated. The aorist *ἔκρυψε* is translated by the present in Matt. 13:44 ("the which when a man hath found, he hideth"), being treated as gnomic under the influence of the following presents; but probably all these tenses are historical. In Matt. 25:8, "our lamps are gone out" does not translate the present *σβέννυνται*, "go out" or "are going out"; indeed, here the version of 1611 gives quite a different picture from the Greek. The imperfect *ἐκάλουν* in Luke 1:59 certainly does not mean "they called"; in the connection that sense would have required the aorist, and the child was not actually named Zacharias. The imperfect is progressive: they were about to name him Zacharias, indeed, in the very act of doing so, when the mother intervened. "I am ready to be offered" does not at all convey the present *σπένδομαι* in II Tim. 4:6. For Paul the libation has begun; he is now being poured out. In Heb. 2:16 both tense and meaning of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* are lost in the translation. This misapprehension or neglect of the present tense shows itself most seriously in the translators' frequent disregard of the historical present so characteristic of the Gospel of Mark. By rendering this by a past tense, the King James companies often obscured the primitive vigor and freshness of that gospel.

The treatment of proper names deserves mention. *Νῶε* is Noe in the gospels, Noah in the epistles. It will be remembered that the gospels were translated by an Oxford company, the epistles by one at Westminster, and the combined companies revised the whole. But this will not explain Jeremy (Matt. 2:17; 27:9) and Jeremias (Matt. 16:14), against the Jeremiah of the Old Testament translators. Timothy is Timotheus 17 times, Timothy 7

times. In II Cor., chap. 1, both forms are used. Esaias, Zacharias, Elias, Eliseus, Jonas are transferences from the Greek, uninfluenced by the forms of these names which appear in the King James Old Testament. The Zion of the Old Testament translators is in the New Testament everywhere Sion, of course under the influence of the Greek spelling *Σιών*. The Italian villages Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae (Acts 28:15) were treated differently: the first was transferred in its Latin form, the second was translated into English, "the three Taverns." The revisers (1881) have translated both into English, and it would seem that both should be either English or Latin. The word "hell" in the King James Version does duty for a variety of Greek expressions. It is used for Hades (*ᾗδου*), Tartarus (in *ταρταρώσας*, II Peter 2:4) and Gehenna (*γέεννα*). Thus the "fiery Gehenna" of Matt. 5:22 becomes "hell fire" in the King James Version. In this the Jacobean translators too readily assumed that those three expressions were identical in meaning, and exceeded their proper function as translators. "Cyrenius" in Luke 2:2 should really have been "Quirinius"; but here, as in the names of the prophets, the translators were simply transliterating a Greek form. The use of "Easter" for "Passover" (*Πάσχα*) in Acts 12:4, however, is very near an anachronism, to say the least. "Castor and Pollux," the name and figurehead of the ship on which Paul reached Italy (Acts 28:11), is a natural expansion of Dioscuri (*Διόσκουροι*). Even the revisers hesitated to carry this word over into English, which would seem the natural course with the name of a ship, and have translated "the Twin Brothers." The Greeks called these demigods Castor and Polydeuces; in substituting the Latin form Pollux the translators of 1611 follow their usual procedure: Diana for Artemis, Jupiter for Zeus, Mercury for Hermes, etc. Yet they retained the confusing "Jesus" (*Ἰησοῦς*) for Joshua in Acts 7:45, Heb. 4:8, adhering to the Greek form in preference to the familiar Old Testament one.

The definite article often presents great difficulty to the English translator, and it is no wonder that the treatment of it in the King James Version is sometimes open to question. The translators omitted in Matt. 1:23: "A virgin (*ἡ παρθένος*) shall be with child;"

supplied it in Acts 17:23: "To the unknown God" (ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ); and curiously distorted it in Heb. 12:2—where it is really generic, and should be omitted—by introducing "*our*" in its place: "the author and finisher of *our* faith." The use of the article for the possessive is as old as Homer, but the italics show that the translators did not think the "*our*" a translation of the article. Indeed, they did not recognize the possessive use in Mark 13:28, translating "Now from the fig tree learn a parable" (τὴν παραβολήν). Here the Revisers' "her parable" is better. A corresponding disregard of the absence of the article, as in Acts 17:23 above, occasionally appears: "God . . . hath . . . spoken unto us by a son" (Heb. 1:1, 2) is truer to the precision of the Greek than the King James "by *his* son." The absence of the article from πνεῦμα ἅγιον is often disregarded by the old translators, who render "the Holy Ghost" quite uniformly. Indeed, almost every principle concerning the use of the article and of the noun without the article is more than once traversed by the King James Version.

The article presents peculiar difficulty in connection with words which are sometimes appellative and sometimes proper names. A simple example is ὁ Σεβαστός, "the Augustus," R.V., "the emperor" (Acts 25:21, 25). The King James Version renders this as a proper name, "Augustus," which at once suggests the first emperor, not the fifth. Every emperor bore this title among others, but as an appellative; and it might quite properly have been rendered "the Augustus" or more freely, "the emperor." Vastly greater difficulty attends the treatment of ὁ Χριστός, "Christ," "the Christ," which is sometimes a proper name, sometimes an appellative. The King James Version quite certainly takes the wrong alternative in translating it as a proper name in Acts 26:23: "That Christ should suffer."

There are some awkwardnesses of translation in the King James Version which, with a better understanding of Greek idiom, might have been avoided: "A man that is an householder" (Matt. 13:52) and "a man which am a Jew" (Acts 21:39) are circumlocutions for which neither Greek text nor English feeling gives any real warrant. Other eccentricities of rendering: "But and if" (ἐὰν δέ, Matt. 24:48); "No, nor" (οὐδ' οὐ μή, Matt. 24:22);

"No, not" (οὐδέ, Matt. 24:36); "No, nor yet" (ἀλλ' οὐδέ, Luke 23:15); "the said Herodias" (αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, Mark 6:22); "To whom our fathers would not obey" (Acts 7:39)—are doubtless mainly due to an English feeling from which our modern speech has grown away. The woman's assenting answer "Truth, Lord" (Ναὶ, κύριε, Matt. 15:27) is of the same character.

It is not unnatural, even in so excellent a version, to find an occasional inexactness in particulars. "Generation of vipers" hardly does justice to the plural γεννήματα (broods) ἐχιδνῶν in Matt. 3:7. "Temple" is hardly the word for οἶκος (sanctuary) in Luke 11:51: "which perished between the altar and the temple" (A.V.). "Spirit" is not the best equivalent for φάντασμα (Matt. 14:26); but perhaps it was, in 1611, for the American Revision's "It is a ghost" suggests that "ghost" and "spirit" have exchanged functions since then.

There are, finally, certain positive mistranslations in the King James Version. "Let him be Anathema Maranatha" (I. Cor. 16:22) is a strange blending of Greek and Aramaic, of curse and promise. Ignorance of the terse Aramaic expression Maran-atha ("The Lord comes"; or Marana-tha, "Come, Lord!") has converted a touching watchword of the early church into a meaningless appendix to the apostolic curse. The measures taken by the mariners in Acts 27:40 are quite misrepresented in the King James; it was the anchors, not themselves, that they committed to the sea. "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" (Acts 26:28) is hardly a mistranslation; but it has at least lent itself to misunderstanding and misuse. In I Cor. 13:1 the apostle's metaphor, "I am become sounding brass," has been altered to a simile: "I am become as sounding brass." The expressions "men and brethren" (Acts 13:26; 23:1; 28:17) and "Men, brethren and fathers" (Acts 22:1) misrepresent the force of ἄνδρες with ἀδελφοὶ or ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες; where, as in ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄνδρες imparts a certain courtesy and dignity to the address, but is hardly capable of separate translation.

But it is a needless and a thankless task to point out further small defects in a work so intelligently and thoroughly done. Certainly

Greek lexicography and syntax are better understood in 1911 than they were three centuries ago. The genetic study of syntax, with its roots in Sanskrit and its ramifications in Latin and in Byzantine and Modern Greek, has brought substantial results to New Testament study and promises still more. The reduction of classical, biblical, and patristic vocabularies to accessibility through concordances and indices, so fundamental for a scientific lexicography, brilliantly undertaken by Estienne (Stephanus) in the sixteenth century, has only in the last generation been seriously resumed and is hardly more than under way. The papyri and inscriptions are only beginning to be largely drawn upon for biblical research. Without such method and materials in syntax and lexicography it is not strange that the King James translators sometimes stumbled. Rather, it is wonderful that they achieved a version so apt, precise, and lasting.

## THE GREAT MODERN VERSIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

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With the final dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1660, the efforts that were being made within that body for a new revision of the English Bible came to an abrupt end. Already, by its inherent merits, the King James Version had superseded its older rivals and now it was to exercise, for two centuries, unquestioned dominance among English-speaking peoples.

Neither the Restoration Period nor the eighteenth century was notable for advance in the biblical scholarship of England. In the great discoveries of the nineteenth century, that were destined to put the study of the Bible upon an entirely new plane, British scholars had a distinguished rôle, it is true; yet even in this century historical criticism of the Bible made its way much less rapidly in England than upon the Continent. In textual criticism, on the other hand, the English took a position that placed them in the very van during the second half of the nineteenth century.

While the "lower" or textual criticism has attracted less popular attention than the new historical study of the Bible, its advances in the field of New Testament study have been no less decisive. The "Received Text" of the New Testament, generally followed down to the middle of the nineteenth century, was based upon the examination of manuscripts few in number and late in date, roughly, of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. In the case of many of the greatest writers of ancient Greece, the modern world is dependent upon manuscripts as late as these, but, by the middle of the nineteenth century, it had become widely recognized that it was no longer necessary to use a Greek Testament subject to the errors incident to so many years of copying. The materials were available, the science of evidence as applied to their use was developing,

which would make possible a text six hundred years nearer the original than that upon which the translators of 1611 had been forced to base their work. In 1858, Dean Trench of Westminster published a small volume upon *Bible Revision*. He wrote: "The question 'Shall we, or shall we not, have a new revision of the Authorized Version?' is one which is presenting itself more and more familiarly to the minds of men." Indications of awakening interest came from all sides. The matter had been broached by a dissenter in Parliament and by a regius professor in Convocation. The general reviews had taken up the subject; even the newspapers had given much space to it. A revision every fifty years had been suggested; while a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* had even proposed a permanent commission which should be "always altering, always embodying in a new and improved edition the latest allowed results of biblical criticism." The latter plan seemed alarming to the dean, if there were the slightest chance of its adoption, yet he did favor a moderate, rather tentative, and slow revision as highly desirable.

In 1865 the American Bible Union issued a complete revised English New Testament, professedly based upon the oldest versions and the most ancient manuscripts available. In this work, two important steps are noticeable: the biblical verse division which had prevailed for three centuries was abandoned for a logical paragraph division and all Old Testament quotations "which appear as poetry in the original" were printed in the stichometric form. At about the same time, five English clergymen collaborated in the publication of a revised version of a part of the New Testament and, in 1869, one of them, Dean Alford, made use of this joint work in his complete revised New Testament. Only a few months before this last event, Mr. Westcott (later Bishop Westcott) thought it useless, in his *History of the English Bible*, to discuss revision, since "revision of the original texts must precede the revision of the translation and the time for this, even in the New Testament, has not yet fully come."

The time had come, however, when the demand could no longer be stayed; only fifteen months later, Bishop Wilberforce presented a resolution in the Convocation of Canterbury that a committee

be appointed to report on the desirableness of a revision of the New Testament; the Old Testament was added by amendment, and the resolution, seconded by Bishop Ellicott, was adopted.

The matter was advanced with great zeal, but with more of deliberation than in the days of King James. When a single version had held sway for more than two centuries, revision was a more serious matter than when the process had been frequent and various versions were in simultaneous use. The majority of the revision committee consisted of members of the Anglican church, but Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians were represented in the full body of fifty-two finally selected.

The committee was divided into distinct Old and New Testament companies and, a little later, American scholars were asked to co-operate by forming an advisory board. A body of thirty was organized in this country in 1871, and began active service in 1872. Final decision in all questions rested with the British committee, but they submitted their work during its progress to the American revisers, who met once a month for ten months of the year and forwarded their suggestions to England. The English committee agreed to give special consideration to all these suggestions, to submit the work in its final form, before publication, and to embody, in an appendix, all important differences of reading and rendering finally favored by the American committee. On the other hand, the American revisers were not to issue an edition of their own for a term of fourteen years after the publication of the British Revision.

The English New Testament company held, usually, monthly sessions, of four days each, during ten months of the year. The first revision occupied six years, and the second, two and a half more; on the second revision no change from the King James translation was adopted except by a two-thirds vote. Two years more were given to consideration of the American suggestions on the second revisions and to many special questions that had arisen; it was, in fact, more than eleven years after the matter was formally acted upon in Convocation that the Revised New Testament was published, May 17, 1881. The revision of the Greek text which had seemed to Westcott a necessary preliminary to the undertaking



was carried forward by the revisers simultaneously with the translation.

As the time for publication drew near, popular interest both in England and America was tense. A million copies were ordered in advance from the Oxford Press and nearly as many from Cambridge. Probably three million copies were sold during the year. The first publication in New York was on May 20, and on May 22 the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times* published, in their issues, the entire text of the Revised Testament. Considerably more than one-half of this was telegraphed, and the remainder was set up from copies received on the evening of the 21st. This and other publication of parts, in newspapers and periodicals, gave immediate knowledge of the contents of the new version to many.

The present writer vividly remembers the June mornings, thirty years ago, when his devout mother read, at family worship, from the little copy of the Revised Testament, comparing and sometimes commenting, while the father and son read from their accustomed copies of the Authorized Version. Similar scenes, no doubt, were a feature in many American homes in that summer of 1881. In a majority of instances, however, those tasting the new preferred the old. At times, infelicities of English in the new smote raspingly on ears tuned to the incomparable English of the King James Version. We, today, grown used to the Revised Versions, may reproduce for ourselves something of this first shock when we are so unfortunate as to hear the reading of the *Twentieth-Century New Testament* with its barbarous wording. Even recently, Dr. Rendel Harris has said of the British Revised Version: "It is almost inconceivable to me that it can ever be accepted by the English-speaking people whose language it so ruthlessly perverts." He adds, "Dr. Weymouth's New Testament in Modern Speech will, perhaps, live longer." It must be acknowledged that, with all the pains taken by the revisers to preserve the flavor of the older English by refusing to use any words not in good standing as early as 1611, they lost much of the beauty of the older versions. Perhaps a just recognition of the needs of the human soul will count this beauty hardly less significant than the thought and will recognize that its loss threatens the loss of all. We of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries should acknowledge with bowed heads that though we may confine ourselves to a strictly Elizabethan vocabulary we cannot write Elizabethan English.

Difference in aim as well as ability in expression characterize the seventeenth-century revisers; they strove professedly for variety of diction, while the later company tried so far as possible to represent uniformly each word of the original by the same English word; the ideal of the later age was different, the prime effort was to reproduce the original as exactly as is possible in another language.

Herein, then, lie the chief excellences of the version of 1881: it translates a Greek text six or eight hundred years nearer to the original documents and it represents that text more accurately than the version of 1611 reproduces the later manuscripts on which it is based. In minor matters, we may notice that by following the earlier American Bible Union Revision in abandoning the unhappy verse division and adopting logical paragraphing, the new version provides consecutive reading, making the following of a complex Pauline argument, for example, far easier and surer. The omission of the chapter summaries is a great advantage; these are often theological interpretations rather than true summaries; they have been and are of incalculable hindrance to a right understanding of the Bible.

The work of the Old Testament company of revisers required fourteen years and it was not until May, 1885, that a complete revised Bible was given to the public. Naturally, this publication created no such furore as that of 1881. The general Christian public noted, with satisfaction, that the changes were less marked than in the New Testament, complacently inferred that its protests had chastened the revisers, and returned to its King James text ignorant of or indifferent to the fact that chiefly accounted for the difference in the revision of the two Testaments. The two hundred and seventy years between 1611 and 1870 had brought to light no early manuscripts giving a new Hebrew text for translation. Changes made here must be, mainly, those due to the effort to reproduce the original more exactly and to advance in knowledge of the Hebrew language itself. Such advance had been great, far greater than in the case of the Greek of the New

Testament, but it would not lead to any such startling changes as the omission of the Doxology from the Lord's Prayer, or of the three witnesses in I John 5:7, or the practical excision of the last twelve verses of Mark.

The most conspicuous change, aside from the abandonment of the verse division and the chapter summaries, was in the mode of printing poetry so as to indicate its division into lines. When the earlier English versions were made, the most striking characteristic of Hebrew poetical form, its parallelism, had been lost sight of, so that even in the Psalms this was not indicated to the eye. The revisers did not print all of the Old Testament poetry as such, but they did recognize a large amount of it, even in the narrative books.

The greatest advantage of the Revised Old Testament over those of earlier rendering is to be found in its far more correct and intelligible translation in such obscure books as Job and the Prophets. Any detailed and satisfactory study of these on the basis of the King James Version is impossible to one who has used the Revised Old Testament.

Viewing the Revised Version of 1881-85 as a whole, possibly the greatest gain of all secured by its publication was that anticipated by Dean Trench in 1858:

That very unsettlement in regard to the words in which God's message has hitherto been conveyed to them, might it not prove for some a motive to a more accurate considering of the message itself, a happy breaking of that crust of formality which by long habit so easily overgrows our reading of the Scripture? It would not be, I think, for most of us unprofitable to discover that the words in which the truth has been hitherto conveyed to us are exchangeable for other, in some places, it may be for better words. The shock, unpleasant as it might prove at first, might be a startling of many from a dull, lethargic, unprofitable reading of God's Word.

The British committee disbanded soon after its long and arduous labors were completed and its members made little reply to the attacks upon them and their work. Like St. Jerome, engaged in a similar work fifteen hundred years before, they had doubtless realized that any change would arouse the opposition of those who "thought that ignorance was holiness," but, unlike him, when the storm of criticism broke upon their heads, they did not call their critics "*bipedes asellos*." Jerome's version had slowly superseded

the Old Latin and had become the Vulgate or common version before it was, in turn, revised. The revisers of the nineteenth century awaited the verdict of time. In 1897, Bishop Westcott could write:

The revisers have no reason to complain of the reception which their labors have found. It does not appear that the Authorized Version made more rapid progress in public favour in the sixteen years after its publication; and, as far as I can judge, the Revised Version is more commonly used by preachers now than the Authorized Version was after the same period of trial.

The American committee maintained its organization and continued its labors, rightly believing that it might still have important work to perform. Its condensed list of preferences, published as an appendix to the British Revision, did not adequately represent its views, so that the publication by the British presses, shortly before the expiration of the American agreement, of an "American Revised Version," in which the readings of the appendix were incorporated in the text, demanded rather than forestalled the publication of a version which should really represent the American committee. For almost thirty years, the surviving members of this committee had been giving incalculable labor to the work of revision, and the fruits of this they arranged to give to the world without any personal remuneration and through a publishing house that has made the priceless results of their work available to the public at most moderate charges.

The American Standard Bible was issued in 1901. The years that had elapsed since the appearance of the British Revision were not too long, since they made possible such real improvement. While the American Bible was also conservative, permitting no change from the Bible of 1611 except on a two-thirds vote, it made many variations from the British; in some cases, it restored King James readings; in others, it abandoned those that had been retained. Its work was, in part, national, in the substituting of words in good American standing for those differently used in England; but its chief merits were of more universal interest. It revised the punctuation and paragraphing of the British Revision. In the Old Testament, it carried out consistently such important changes as the uniform use of "Jehovah" and "sheol"; in the New

Testament, it adopted the literal marginal reading "through" instead of "by" referring to prophecy, and interpreted more intelligibly the value of ancient coins. At the top of each page it inserted brief indications of the contents of that page, of great use for rapid reference and wonderfully free from doctrinal bias. The American committee, too, dealt, with a sweeping hand, with the often misleading marginal annotations of the British Old Testament.

The publication of the American version, ten years ago, was not marked by advance sales taxing the resources of publishers. It was only when its intrinsic merits came to be known that the demand was considerable; this has steadily grown, however, the largest increase of any year being that of 1910, which exceeded the previous year by 25 per cent.

Commended by Protestant leaders of all shades of belief; adopted by the American Bible Society; by the International Sunday-School Lesson Committee; by colleges, theological seminaries, and training schools; read in multitudes of pulpits of all denominations; it seems destined to become, in fact, the "standard" Bible of all American Protestants. In England it has received generous recognition as a very real advance upon the Revised Version, though its sale there is, for the time, prevented by a copyright difficulty. To India, Africa, Australia, and other foreign missionary fields it is being shipped in large numbers.

However deeply we may regret the losses involved in the abandonment of the King James Version, it hardly seems that the efforts being made by the lovers of literature to retain the text of 1611 with its matchless beauty of diction can counterbalance the increasing desire of the church for the most accurate and intelligible reproduction of the Bible thought, when this can be found in language equal to that of the King James Version in moral dignity and religious reverence.

## Work and Workers

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DURING the coming summer quarter of the University of Chicago the following instructors will offer courses in the Bible and in religious education, viz., Professors Burton, Votaw, Goodspeed, and Case in the New Testament; Professors Jewett, Willett, and J. M. P. Smith, together with Professor L. B. Paton of Hartford Theological Seminary, and Professor George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr College, in the Old Testament and related fields. In religious education instruction will be offered by Professor Hoben, together with Professor George E. Dawson of Springfield, Mass. The regular work in other theological subjects will be continued as usual. The quarter opens on June 19, the first term closing on July 26, and the second term on September 1.

THE THIRTEENTH TRIENNIAL CONVENTION of the International Sunday School Association will be held in San Francisco, California, June 20-27, 1911. There will be reports for the past triennium by the secretaries of the different departments of field-workers, the Lesson Committee, and by the international executive officers. Interspersed with these reports will be sessions addressed by well-known religious leaders from different parts of the North American continent. The music of the convention will be under the charge of Professor E. O. Excell of Chicago. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman will speak daily for fifteen minutes on "Soul-Winning and Christian Culture." The fare from Chicago for the round trip will be \$62.50, and \$50 from Missouri River points. Full information can be obtained from Mr. Marion Lawrance, secretary, 140 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

CHEYNE, T. K. *The Two Religions of Israel, with a Re-Examination of the Prophetic Narratives and Utterances.* London: A. and C. Black, 1911. Pp. xv+428. 12s. 6d.

The two religions in question are the lower and the higher. The former was the religion of Yerahmeel that had its origin and support in North Arabia and was the religion of the masses in Israel; the latter was the religion of Yahweh championed by the great prophets against tremendous odds. The religion of Yerahmeel is identified by the author with Baalism. The book is full of ingenious and often valuable suggestions, but the author's Yerahmeelite obsession gives an air of unreality to the presentation as a whole. It is, in any case, a book for scholars rather than for the general public.

THOMSEN, PETER. *Die Palästina Literatur. Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren- und Sachregister. Band II: Die Literatur der Jahre 1905-1909.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911. Pp. xx+316.

This is an exhaustive list of the literature concerning Palestine that has appeared during the last five years. The length of the list is astonishing. The number of titles given is 3,755. The preceding volume published in 1908, which started this great undertaking and covered the period from 1895 to 1904, included only 2,918 titles. The publication of the work is made possible by the co-operation of four learned societies, among them being the Palestine Exploration Fund. The expectation is that this will become a permanent institution. It is a work calculated to be of great service to students of the history, geography, and archeology of Palestine and should have a place in every large library. The industry and accuracy of the editor are beyond praise.

PRICE, IRA MAURICE. *The Ancestry of Our English Bible. An account of Manuscripts, Texts, and Versions of the Bible.* 4th ed. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1910. Pp. xxiv+330; 44 plates. \$1.50.

The celebration of the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version of 1611 warrants reference to the new edition of this useful book. Besides being one of the required volumes in the Methodist Episcopal courses for ministers, it is used as a textbook in some of our colleges and theological seminaries. Its efficiency and attractiveness are greatly enhanced by the large number of excellent reproductions of samples of manuscripts and editions.

#### ARTICLES

THACKERAY, H. ST. J. *Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk.* *The Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1911, pp. 191-213.

A very interesting argument which seeks to show that as early as 300 B.C. the third chapter of Habakkuk was read in the Jewish temple ritual as a lesson on the occasion of one of the great annual festivals. The evidence for this is found in three lectionary notes, two of which occur only in obscure Greek MSS, and the third in all the texts. These notes are hints as to the location and extent of various readings from the law and the prophets employed in the regular service of worship. The readings occur in vss. 3, 9b, and 19. The light thrown upon 3:9b is indeed welcome, for

it has long been an enigma. It has been reckoned that at least one hundred translations of this passage have been devised. The result of Thackeray's discovery if accepted would be the removal from the text of the obscure words, "The oaths to the tribes were a sure word."

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

ROBERTSON, A. T. *Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew.* [The Bible for Home and School.] New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xiii+294. 60 cents.

Professor Robertson devotes an extended introduction to the problems of authorship, date, historical value, etc. He connects the gospel at least indirectly with the apostle Matthew, and holds that its date was not later than 70 and probably much earlier. The German two-document hypothesis dominates his synoptic criticism, and other views are summarily dismissed. The notes are for the most part uninfluenced by criticism, and often needlessly homiletical. The style is sometimes casual and even harsh: "We are due God a righteous life" (p. 108). The precise theme of the gospel is not grasped by Professor Robertson, and some serious problems of interpretation and criticism are quite passed over. On the whole, the book hardly represents the best modern view of the First Gospel.

SWETE, HENRY B. *The Ascended Christ. A Study in the Earliest Christian Teaching.* London: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xv+168. 80 cents net.

These lectures, prepared originally for ministerial candidates, interpret the New Testament statements as to the ascension of Jesus and his place in heaven more in terms of the historic creeds and liturgies than in those of historical criticism or of religious experience. It may be questioned whether a more modern terminology might not have better served what is evidently an earnest religious purpose.

CONYBEARE, F. C. *History of New Testament Criticism.* [A History of the Sciences.] New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 192. 75 cents.

An illuminating book might be written on this subject, but it must be done with less bias and more sense of proportion than Mr. Conybeare has shown. But he is a scholar, even though not a historian, and has collected some interesting facts and excerpts. It is unfortunate that he has discussed them with such partisan vehemence, and that while lamenting the lack of critical New Testament works in English, he has overlooked so many of just that description, in making up his bibliography. In synoptic criticism and literature, in particular, Mr. Conybeare is poorly posted.

HENSON, L. L. *Researches in Palestine.* Boston: S. D. Towne, 1910. Pp. 85.

Mr. Henson has visited Palestine and writes with the enthusiasm of an eyewitness. He gives a compact survey of the work of late years at Jerusalem, Lachish, Gezer, Samaria, Capernaum (Tell-Hum), and other sites. The book is freely illustrated, and there is a good bibliography.



# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

MAY, 1911

NUMBER 5

## Books for New Testament Study

PROFESSIONAL AND POPULAR

THIRD EDITION, 1911

QUINQUENNIAL

CLYDE WEBER VOTAW, PH.D.

Associate Professor of New Testament Literature, the University of Chicago

The first edition of this List was published in 1900, the second edition in 1905. This third edition is in pursuance of the purpose to reissue the List in thoroughly revised form every five years.

The books named are those which it is thought will prove most helpful to the present-day student of the New Testament. Different schools of biblical interpretation are represented in the List, paragraphs of brief annotation being given to characterize the books respecting their point of view, scope, and particular value. The only consideration in the choice of titles has been the efficiency of the books to promote the best appreciation, knowledge, and use of the New Testament.

The American publisher of each book is given, if there is one, although many of the books are imported from British houses. The last edition of each work, with its date, is indicated. English translations of German and French works, when such exist, are always cited first. If there has been, since the translation was made, a new German or French edition with important revisions or additions, the title of this edition is also given.

The Contents of the List are arranged as follows:

I. HISTORY. (1) The New Testament Times. The Graeco-Roman World; The Jews in Palestine; Jewish Writings. (2) New Testament Geography; Maps. (3) The Life of Jesus; Harmonies of the Gospels. (4) The Life of Paul. (5) The Apostolic Age. (6) The New Testament Writings; The Synoptic Problem; The Gospel of John; The Book of Acts. (7) The New Testament Canon. (8) Early Extra-Canonical Christian Literature. (9) Bible Dictionaries and Encyclopedias.

II. LANGUAGE. (1) Grammar. (2) Lexicography. (3) Aramaic and Syriac. (4) Concordances. (5) Old Testament Quotations.

III. TEXT. (1) The Greek Text. (2) Text-Criticism. (3) The English Versions.

IV. INTERPRETATION. (1) History and Principles of New Testament Interpretation. (2) Commentaries on the Entire New Testament. (3) Commentaries on the Separate Books of the New Testament.

V. TEACHING. (1) The Teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and of Jesus. (2) The Teaching of Paul. (3) The Johannine Teaching. (4) The Teaching in the Other Books. (5) Eschatology, Messianism, and Christology. (6) The Miracles of the New Testament. (7) Various Treatises.

VI. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS. (1) American. (2) British. (3) French. (4) German.

## I. HISTORY

### 1. THE NEW TESTAMENT TIMES (175 B.C.—135 A.D.)

#### THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

**Tucker, T. G.** Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 453. \$2.50.

**Fisher, G. P.** The Beginnings of Christianity. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 591. \$0.90.

- Inge, W. R.** Society in Rome under the Caesars. New York: Scribner, 1894. Pp. 276. \$1.25.
- Dill, Samuel.** Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 639. \$2.50.
- Fowler, W. W.** Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 362. \$2.25.
- Glover, T. R.** Conflict of Religions within the Roman Empire. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 500. \$3.
- Friedländer, Ludwig.** Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire. (Authorized translation of the 7th enlarged and revised edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*.) New York: Dutton, 1909-10. 3 vols. Pp. 1,117. \$4.50. A supplementary volume, containing Notes and Excurses, to be published soon.
- Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms. 8 Aufl. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1910. 4 vols. Pp. 2,117. M. 52.
- Arnold, W.** The Roman System of Provincial Administration. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. 275. \$2.
- Mommsen, Th.** The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian. New York: Scribner, 1909. 2 vols. Pp. 850. \$6.
- Wendland, Paul.** Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 190. M. 7.

## THE JEWS IN PALESTINE

- Schürer, Emil.** The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. New York: Scribner, 1891. 5 vols. Pp. 2,065. \$8.
- Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi. 4 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901-9. Pp. 2,179. M. 53.75.
- Holtzmann, Oscar.** Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 431. M. 8.
- Bousset, Wilhelm.** Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. 2 Aufl. Berlin: Reuther, 1906. Pp. 617. M. 13.50.
- Morrison, W. D.** The Jews under Roman Rule. 4th ed. New York: Putnam, 1899. Pp. 426. \$1.50.
- Mathews, Shailer.** The History of New Testament Times in Palestine. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 234. \$1.
- Huntington, Ellsworth.** Palestine and Its Transformation. Boston: Houghton, 1911. Pp. 350. \$2.50.
- Fairweather, Wm.** The Background of the Gospels; or, Judaism in the Period between the Old and the New Testaments. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 456. \$3.
- Krüger, Paul.** Hellenismus und Judentum im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 47. M. 1.20.

- Hollmann, G.** *The Jewish Religion in the Time of Jesus.* London: Green, 1909. Pp. 150. 2s.
- Welchen Religion hatten die Juden als Jesus auftrat? 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 64. M. 0.80.
- Oosterley, W. O. E., and Box, G. H.** *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.* New York: Scribner, 1907. Pp. 443. \$3.
- Graetz, H.** *Geschichte der Juden.* Bd. III, Von Tode Juda Makkabis bis zum Untergang des jüdischen Staates. 5 Aufl., bearbeitet von M. Braun. Leipzig: Leiner, 1906. Pp. 857. M. 12.50.
- Felten, J.** *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, oder Judentum und Heidentum zur Zeit Christi und der Apostel.* Regensburg: Manz, 1910. 2 vols. Pp. 1,202. M. 26.
- Schwalm, M. B.** *La vie privée du peuple juif à l'époque de Jésus-Christ.* Paris: Lecoffre, 1910. Pp. 590. Fr. 12.
- Friedländer, M.** *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu.* Berlin: Reimer, 1905. Pp. 380. M. 7.
- Bergmann, J.** *Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.* Berlin Reimer, 1908. Pp. 168. M. 3.50.
- Grant, Elihu.** *The Peasantry of Palestine: The Life, Manners and Customs of the Village.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1907. Pp. 255. \$1.50.
- Mackie, George M.** *Bible Manners and Customs.* Chicago: Revell, 1898. Pp. 175. \$1.
- Edersheim, Alfred.** *In the Time of Christ: Sketches of Jewish Social Life.* New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 342. \$0.50. *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as They Were in the Time of Christ.* New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 414. \$0.50.
- Trumbull, H. C.** *Studies in Oriental Social Life.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times, 1907. Pp. 455. \$1.50.
- Ramsay, W. M.** Art. "Roads and Travel in the New Testament," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 375-402.

## JEWISH WRITINGS

- Josephus, Flavius.** *Antiquities; Jewish War; Life; Against Apion.* Whiston translation, revised by Shilleto. New York: Macmillan, 1889-90. 5 vols. Pp. 1,907. \$5. Whiston translation, edited by D. S. Margoliouth. New York: Dutton, 1906. Pp. 1,010. \$2.
- Niese, Benedict.** *Flavii Josephi Opera, cum apparatu critico.* Berlin: Weidmann, 1887-95. 7 vols. Pp. 2,365. M. 93. Editio minor, 6 vols. (the text without critical apparatus). Pp. 1,926. M. 24.
- Philo Judaeus.** *Complete Works.* English translation by C. D. Yonge. New York: Macmillan, 1854-55. Pp. 2,053. \$3.80.

- Cohn, L., and Wendland, P.** Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae Supersunt. Berlin: Reimer, 1896-. Vols. I-V; to be complete in 7 or 8 vols. Minor edition (without critical apparatus), vols. correspond.
- Bréhier, Émile.** Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie. Paris: Picard, 1908. Pp. 336. Fr. 7.50.
- Drummond, James.** Philo Judaeus: or, The Alexandrian Philosophy in Its Development and Completion. London: Williams & Norgate, 1888. 2 vols. Pp. 714. 24s.
- Windisch, Hans.** Die Frömmigkeit Philos und ihre Bedeutung für das Christentum. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 140. M. 3.50.
- Krüger, Paul.** Philo und Josephus als Apologeten des Judentums. Leipzig: Dürr, 1906. Pp. 82. M. 2.
- Old Testament Apocrypha.** Revised English Version. New York: Nelson, 1895. Pp. 176. \$0.75. Greek text of the Apocrypha in Swete's "Old Testament in Greek." 3d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1895-1907. 3 vols. \$6.
- Kautzsch, E., Editor.** Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Tübingen: Mohr, 1898-99. 2 vols. Pp. 1,048. M. 24.
- Wace, Henry, Editor.** Commentary on the Apocrypha. By various British scholars. London: Murray, 1888. 2 vols. Pp. 1,282. \$16.
- André, T.** Les apocryphes de l'ancien Testament. Florence: Paggi, 1903. Pp. 348. Fr. 10.
- Fairweather, W., and Black, J. S.** The First Book of Maccabees. *Cambridge Bible.* New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 271. \$0.90.
- Smend, R.** Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach. Berlin: Reimer, 1906. 2 vols. Pp. 784. M. 21.
- Hughes, H. M.** The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature. London: Cully, 1909. Pp. 340. 5s.
- Couard, Ludwig.** Die religiösen und sittlichen Anschauungen der alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. Pp. 248. M. 4.80.
- Charles, R. H.** The Book of Enoch: Translation, with Introduction and Notes. New York: Frowde, 1893. Pp. 391. \$4.
- Martin, François.** Le Livre d'Hénoch. Paris: Letouzey, 1907. Pp. 472. Fr. 7.50.
- Charles, R. H.** The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. New York: Frowde, 1908. Pp. 357. \$5.25.
- Charles, R. H.** The Book of Jubilees. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 364. \$5.25.
- Charles, R. H.** The Apocalypse of Baruch. New York: Macmillan, 1896. Pp. 176. \$2.75.

- Violet, Bruno.** Die Esra-Apokalypse. Teil I. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 510. M. 20. (Contains texts and versions; Teil II will contain a reconstructed text, with commentary.)
- Charles, R. H.** The Assumption of Moses. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 182. \$2.25.
- Charles, R. H.** The Ascension of Isaiah. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 228. \$2.25.
- Morfill, W. R., and Charles, R. H.** The Book of the Secrets of Enoch. New York: Frowde, 1896. Pp. 147. \$2.
- Bonwetsch, N.** Das slavische Henochbuch. Berlin: Weidmann, 1896. Pp. 57. M. 4.
- Ryle, H. E., and James, M. R.** Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called the Psalms of Solomon. New York: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. 270. \$3.75.
- Viteau, J., and Martin, F.** Les Psaumes de Salomon. Paris: Letouzey, 1910. Pp. 430. Fr. 6.75.
- Geffcken, J.** Die Oracula Sibyllina. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 301. M. 12. Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 78. M. 2.50.
- Terry, M. S.** The Sibylline Oracles. (English translation.) New York: Eaton & Mains, 1899. Pp. 292. \$2.
- Taylor, Charles.** Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, comprising *Pirke Aboth*. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 243. \$2.75. Vol. II, Appendix, 1900. Pp. 183. \$2.25.
- Strack, H. L.** Einleitung in den Talmud. 4 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 182. M. 4. Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen nach den ältesten jüdischen Aufgaben. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 128. M. 3.
- Herford, R. T.** Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. 449. 18s.
- Laible, Heinrich.** Jesus Christus im Thalmud. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. Pp. 122. M. 2.40.
- Weber, Ferdinand.** Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften gemeinfasslich dargestellt. 2 Aufl. von Georg Schnedermann. Leipzig: Dörffling, 1897. Pp. 467. M. 9.25.
- Schechter, Solomon.** Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology. London: Black, 1909. Pp. 406. 7s. 6d.
- Kohler, Kaufmann.** Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums auf geschichtlicher Grundlage. Leipzig: Fock, 1910. Pp. 383. M. 7.

Since Christianity arose in and spread through the Graeco-Roman world of the first century A.D., Jesus and Paul—one the founder, the other the greatest missionary of this religious movement—can best be understood in the light of a full acquaintance with the peoples, conditions, institutions, and ideas of this historical period to which they belonged. The books here suggested on the Graeco-Roman world provide such an acquaintance. The first three works, by TUCKER, FISHER, and INGE, give a brief, popular,

and helpful survey, with reference to the rise of Christianity. DILL and FOWLER give a much fuller account of Roman life, without explicit reference to Christianity. FRIEDLÄNDER's standard description of Roman customs, now in its eighth edition, is at last available in English translation. ARNOLD and MOMMSEN give us, the former briefly, the latter at great length, what is known of Rome's administration of her provinces in the first century A.D. WENDLAND furnishes a scholarly survey of the Graeco-Roman culture, with its spread and fusion of Greek with Roman philosophy and religion, and the influence of this Hellenism upon Judaism and primitive Christianity.

The history of the Jewish people in the New Testament times has been most fully and most authoritatively written by SCHÜRER; it is to be regretted that the English translation has not yet been revised to accord with the latest German edition. HOLTZMANN provides a manual for this study that is most scholarly and readable; we should have an English translation of it. BOUSSET supplements Schürer's work in a highly important way by dealing more completely and fully with the religious ideas of the Jews. MORRISON and MATHEWS give us good brief introductions to the study of Jewish history in this period. HUNTINGTON seeks to show the influence of the land upon the people, a valuable study in the effect of environment. FAIRWEATHER's book is made up of lectures and is therefore sketchy, but presents a helpful point of view. KRÜGER and HOLLMANN give brief accounts of Judaism in Jesus' day; OESTERLEY and BOX give a much longer account, but it is somewhat superficial and popular. GRAETZ's work has long been a standard, as representing an able interpretation of ancient Jewish history by a modern Jewish scholar. FELTEN and SCHWALM have just published massive works in this field, the exact value of which is not yet determined. FRIEDLÄNDER and BERGMANN have written suggestively upon their special topics. GRANT, MACKIE, EDELSHEIM, and TRUMBULL give excellent descriptions of Palestinian social life to illustrate the biblical customs. RAMSAY furnishes helpful information concerning roads and travel in the first century.

JOSEPHUS, the great Jewish historical writer of the New Testament period, in his two larger and two smaller works, gives us the fullest account of the political history of New Testament times, and much also as to the social, intellectual, and religious history. NIESE's critical Greek text is the standard edition of these writings. The two editions of the English translation conform to the Niese text; MARGOLIOUTH's revision, with the Niese sections, is published in a single volume with small print; SHILLETO's [revision is in better print but in five volumes, and without the Niese sections. PHILO's works are also most useful, as showing the ethical and religious influence of Hellenism upon Judaism. The standard critical text of Philo by COHN and WENDLAND is nearing completion; the only English translation (nearly sixty years old), by YONGE, needs to be thoroughly revised. The best introductions to the study of Philo are by BRÉHIER and DRUMMOND, while WINDISCH and KRÜGER have capital monographs on particular phases of the subject. The Greek text of the Old Testament Apocrypha is given by SWETE, and the best English translation is that of the REVISED VERSION. A massive German work, giving translation, introductions, and notes upon the Apocrypha and also upon the Jewish apocalyptic writings of the New Testament period called the Pseudepigrapha, is published by KAUTZSCH, with the assistance of many other German scholars. The English commentary on the Apocrypha by WACE and his collaborators is still the best we have, but is very inadequate. ANDRÉ gives an excellent introduction to the Apocrypha. The only good commentary on First Maccabees is by FAIRWEATHER and BLACK. SMEND contributes a splendid great work on the Wisdom of Sirach, HUGHES and COUARD provide useful monographs on the ethical and religious teaching of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. CHARLES has no superior as a scholar in this field, and has published a whole series of fine works on the pseudepigraphic literature, each one of which makes the best textbook on its subject for the English student. MARTIN, VIOLET, BONWETSCH, RYLE and JAMES, and VITEAU and MARTIN have also made excellent additions to the manuals on the Pseudepigrapha. GEFFCKEN's two monographs on the Sibylline Oracles are standard; TERRY's edition is the best English translation of them, but does not contain an adequate introduction to the study of these peculiar writings. TAYLOR's two volumes on the Mishna tractate Abot present the text with an English translation, introduction, commentary, and critical notes, leaving little to be desired. STRACK's introduction to the study of the Talmud is the best. Allusions and relations of the Talmud to Christianity are treated by STRACK, HERFORD, and LAIBLE. WEBER gives a systematic exhibit of the Jewish theology contained in the Talmud, while SCHECHTER and KOHLER endeavor to show that the modern Jewish theology is a true descendant from the Judaism of the biblical and talmudic periods.

## 2. NEW TESTAMENT GEOGRAPHY

Smith, G. A. *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. 14th ed. New York: Doran, 1907-8. Pp. 720. \$3.40. Jerusalem: *Topography, Economics, and History from the Earliest Times to 70 A.D.* New York: Doran, 1908. 2 vols. Pp. 1,125. \$7.50.

- Benzinger, I.** Palestine and Syria. *Baedeker's Guide Book series.* 4th ed. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. 536. \$3.60.
- Paton, L. B.** Jerusalem in Bible Times. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 150. \$1.
- Masterman, E. W. G.** Studies in Galilee. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 170. \$1.
- Conder, C. R.** The City of Jerusalem. London: Murray, 1909. Pp. 342. 12s.
- Stewart, R. L.** The Land of Israel: A Text-Book on the Physical and Historical Geography of the Holy Land. Chicago: Revell, 1899. Pp. 352. \$1.50.
- Buhl, Frants.** Geographie des alten Palästina. Tübingen: Mohr, 1896. Pp. 300. M. 7.60.
- Sanday, W., and Waterhouse, P.** Sacred Sites of the Gospels. New York: Frowde, 1903. Pp. 126, with many full-page illustrations. \$4.50.
- Kelman, J., and Fulleylove, J.** The Holy Land, illustrated in colors. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 301. \$6.
- Thomson, W. M.** The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. Popular edition. New York: Harper, 1880. 3 vols. Pp. 1,992. \$7.50.
- Robinson, Edward.** Biblical Researches in Palestine. 2d ed. Boston: Houghton, 1857-60. 3 vols. Pp. 1,874. \$10. Physical Geography of the Holy Land. Boston: Houghton, 1865. Pp. 399. \$3.50.
- Bliss, F. J.** The Development of Palestine Exploration. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. 337. \$1.50.
- Thomsen, Peter.** Systematische Bibliographie der Palästina-Literatur (1895-1909). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908-11. 2 vols. Pp. 518. M. 12.

## MAPS OF PALESTINE

- Bartholomew, J. G.** Topographical, Physical, and Biblical Map of Palestine. Edited by George Adam Smith. New York: Doran, 1901. Scale: 4 miles to the inch. Mounted on cloth in cloth cover, with Index. \$3.50.
- Palestine Exploration Fund.** THE GREAT MAP OF WESTERN PALESTINE, in 26 sheets, with a portfolio. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1880. To be obtained in the United States of Professor L. B. Paton, Hartford, Conn. Subscribers, \$13.50; non-subscribers, \$18. Reduced map, in 6 sheets: subscribers, \$3.50; non-subscribers, \$5; mounted for hanging, \$1 extra. OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT OF PALESTINE, in 12 sheets. Subscribers, \$4.50; non-subscribers, \$6; mounted for hanging,  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  feet: subscribers, \$6.50; non-subscribers, \$9.50. RAISED MAP OF PALESTINE:  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  feet, \$58;  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  feet, \$25.

SMITH's two great works on the historical geography of Palestine and on Jerusalem are learned and readable. BENZINGER furnishes a most valuable historical and archaeological guide for the traveler in Palestine; the book is adapted also for constant use in the study. The manuals on Jerusalem by PARON and on Galilee by MASTERMAN constitute a fine introduction to the study of Palestine. CONDER's work on Jerusalem is also useful. STEWART's volume is smaller and popular, but scholarly. BUHL's is a standard work upon the subject in German. SANDAY and WATERHOUSE discuss with great ability the Palestinian localities referred to in the gospels. KELMAN and FULLEYLOVE give an attractive and inspiring description, with colored illustrations, of sites and scenes in Palestine. THOMSON's "The Land and the Book" has long been the popular, graphic, and informing work for the illumination of the Bible by a knowledge of first-century localities and customs. ROBINSON gives a scientific account of thorough explorations in Palestine made by himself, one of the most learned and able American biblical scholars. BLISS gives an excellent account of the men who have devoted themselves to the archaeological and historical exploration of Palestine, with the results of their work. THOMSEN has made a most valuable bibliography of 6,673 books, articles, and notes on Palestinian geography and archaeology published in the last fifteen years.

BARTHOLOMEW furnishes the best cloth map of Palestine for individual and class study. The great maps of the PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND are the standard of all good Palestinian maps, and should be used unless their size forbids. The two raised maps of Palestine also issued by the Fund are invaluable for classroom and study, showing the configuration of the country, and producing a much more vivid impression than is possible to the flat map. Excellent maps of Palestine, and of the Graeco-Roman world of Paul's day, are provided in the Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible and the Encyclopædia Biblica.

### 3. THE LIFE OF JESUS

(See also below under the heads of "The Teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and of Jesus," and "Eschatology, Messianism, and Christology.")

- Holtzmann, Oscar.** The Life of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1904. Pp. 556. \$4. War Jesus Ekstatiker? Tübingen: Mohr, 1903. Pp. 230. M. 3.
- Bousset, W.** Jesus. New York: Putnam, 1906. Pp. 211. \$1.25.
- Weiss, Bernard.** The Life of Christ. New York: Scribner, 1883-89 (reprinted 1909). 3 vols. Pp. 1,224. \$6.75.
- Das Leben Jesu. 4 Aufl. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1902. 2 vols. Pp. 1,143. M. 22.
- Sanday, William.** Outlines of the Life of Christ. [Reprint of art. "Jesus Christ" in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, II, 603-53.] 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 273. \$1. Life of Christ in Recent Research. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1907. Pp. 328. \$1.75.
- Burton, E. D., and Mathews, Shailer.** Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ. Based on the Stevens-Burton "Harmony of the Gospels." 5th ed. Chicago: University Press, 1904. Pp. 300. \$1.
- Smith, David.** The Days of His Flesh. 8th ed. New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 549. \$2.
- Schmidt, P. W.** Die Geschichte Jesu. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Pp. 598. M. 12.
- Schweitzer, Albert.** The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 410. \$3.50.
- Weinel, H.** Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 316. M. 4.
- Jülicher, Adolf.** Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Ueberlieferung. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 76. M. 1.60.



- Pfleiderer, Otto.** *Christian Origins.* New York: Huebsch, 1906. Pp. 295. \$1.75.
- Neumann, Arno.** *Jesus.* New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. 210. \$1.
- Réville, Albert.** *Jésus de Nazareth: Études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus.* Paris: Fishbacher, 1897. 2 vols. 2d ed. of Vol. I, 1906. Pp. 976. Fr. 15..
- Strauss, D. F.** *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined.* Translated from the fourth German edition. [The "Leben Jesu" first published in 1835.] New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 784. \$5.
- Keim, Theodor.** *The History of Jesus of Nazara.* London: Williams & Norgate, 1876-83. 6 vols. Pp. 2,336. 36s.
- Renan, Ernest.** *The Life of Jesus.* Translation newly revised from 23d (final) ed. Boston: Little, 1896. Pp. 481. \$1.50.  
The German translation is in its 100th ed. Published by Steinitz, Berlin, 1908. Pp. 228. M. 1.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1907. Pp. 230. M. 7.80. *Die Versuchung Jesu, usw.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1907. Pp. 210. M. 6. *Jesus und die Heidenmission.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. Pp. 116. M. 3.50.
- Meinertz, M.** *Jesus und die Heidenmission.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1908. Pp. 244. M. 6.40.
- Chwolson, D.** *Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes.* 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Haessel, 1908. Pp. 190. M. 6.
- Ramsay, W. M.** *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* New York: Putnam, 1898. Pp. 280. \$1.75.
- Wernle, Paul.** *The Sources of Our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus.* London: Green, 1907. Pp. 163. 2s.
- Soden, Hermann v.** *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu.* 2 Aufl. Berlin: Glaue, 1909. Pp. 122. M. 2.
- Barth, Fritz.** *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu.* 3 Aufl. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. Pp. 316. M. 4.80.
- Briggs, C. A.** *New Light on the Life of Jesus.* New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. 196. \$1.20.
- Werner, Hermann.** *Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu.* Gr.-Lichterfelde: Runge, 1908. Pp. 64. M. 0.70.
- Schaefer, H.** *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung.* Berlin: Hoffmann, 1910. Pp. 178. M. 3.20.
- Drescher, Richard.** *Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1900. Pp. 65. M. 1.80.
- Knowling, R. J.** *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ.* New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. 533. \$3.

**Bauer, W.** Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. Pp. 568. M. 16.

Books on the Life of Jesus which are smaller, more homiletical, or older: (1) G. H. GILBERT, *Student's Life of Jesus* (1900); R. RHEES, *Life of Jesus of Nazareth* (1900); E. STAFFER, *Jesus Christ* (3 vols., 1897-98); (2) W. H. BENNETT, *Life of Christ according to St. Mark* (1909); A. E. GARVIE, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* (1907); (3) S. J. ANDREWS, *Life of Our Lord* (1891); W. BEYSCHLAG, *Das Leben Jesu* (1893); C. F. NÖSGEN, *Geschichte Jesu Christi* (1891).

#### HARMONIES OF THE GOSPELS

**Stevens, W. A., and Burton, E. D.** A Harmony of the Gospels, for Historical Study, in the Revised Version. 10th ed. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 283. \$1.

**Huck, Adolf.** Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien. 4 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 223. M. 5.40.

**Wright, Arthur.** A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek, after the Westcott-Hort Text. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1903. Pp. 392. \$3.25.

**Thompson, J. M.** The Synoptic Gospels, Arranged in Parallel Columns. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1910. Pp. 161. \$2.50.

**Finney, R. L.** Huck's Synopsis of the First Three Gospels, Arranged for English Readers. [From the 3d German edition.] Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1909. Pp. 171. \$1.

**Heineke, Reinold.** Synopse der drei ersten kanonischen Evangelien, mit Parallelen aus dem Johannes-Evangelium. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1898. Pp. 198. M. 7.

The historical interpretations of Jesus are at present so diverse, and the fundamental matters so much in solution, that we cannot expect an adequate or satisfactory work on the Life of Jesus. HOLTZMANN'S large volume and BOUSSET'S sketch are quite surely the best exponents of advanced scholarship in this field, while WEISS and SANDAY represent the best interpretation of Jesus on traditional lines. BURTON-MATHEWS, SMITH, and SCHMIDT have written popular books on the Life of Jesus embodying the traditional view, and avoiding the discussion of fundamental critical questions. SCHWEITZER at great length, WEINEL and JÜLICHER briefly, show how Jesus is being pragmatized for philosophical, ethical, and social purposes, and what the primary historical problems are with reference to Jesus. PFLEIDERER, NEUMANN, and RÉVILLE seek to reconstruct the main facts concerning Jesus from the point of view of present advanced scholarship, as STRAUSS, KEIM, and RENAN had sought to do two generations ago. SPITTA, MEINERTZ, CHWOLSON, and RAMSAY contribute useful monographs on certain aspects of the life of Jesus. WERNLE, V. SODEN, BARTH, and BRIGGS deal critically with the sources and the groundwork of the gospel story. WERNER and SCHAEFFER defend the mental normality of Jesus against the contentions of de Loosten that Jesus was a paranoiac, and of Rasmussen that Jesus was an epileptic. DRESCHER and KNOWLING show what elements of the Life of Jesus are referred to or definitely assumed in the epistles of Paul. BAUER deals fully and critically with the Life of Jesus as pictured in the non-canonical gospel writings of the second and third centuries A.D.

As to Harmonies of the Gospels for the more thorough study of the Life of Christ, and of the characteristics and relation of the four gospels, the best in English is that of STEVENS and BURTON. Of those Harmonies which give the Greek text, the simplest, cheapest, and best is that by HUCK, presenting the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition, the standard in Germany. WRIGHT presents the Westcott-Hort text, is more elaborate, and gives a valuable introduction. THOMPSON'S work is similar to that of STEVENS-BURTON, without making any particular advance upon the latter in point of view or method. FINNEY gives in English the superseded third edition of Huck in poor print and small type, without Huck's valuable text-critical apparatus. HEINEKE uses the horizontal instead of the common vertical method of presenting the parallel readings, which gives some advantage in close comparison.

## 4. THE LIFE OF PAUL

(In addition to the books named below under the head of "The Apostolic Age.")

- Conybeare, W. J., and Howson, J. S.** *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* (Unabridged original edition of 1851.) New York: Scribner, 1897. Pp. 1,008. \$1.50. Abridged ed. New York: Longmans, 1892. Pp. 850. \$1.25.
- Ramsay, W. M.** *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen.* New York: Putnam, 1896. Pp. 394. \$3. *The Church in the Roman Empire, before 170 A.D.* New York: Putnam, 1893. Pp. 494. \$3. *The Cities of St. Paul: Their Influence on His Life and Thought.* New York: Doran, 1908. Pp. 452. \$3.
- Bacon, B. W.** *The Story of St. Paul.* Boston: Houghton, 1904. Pp. 392. \$1.50.
- Clemen, Carl.** *Paulus: Sein Leben und Wirken.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1904. 2 vols. Pp. 755. M. 13.
- Weinel, H.** *St. Paul: the Man and his Work.* New York: Putnam, 1906. Pp. 399. \$2.50.
- Wrede, W.** *Paul.* London: Green, 1907. Pp. 182. 2s.
- Baur, F. C.** *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ.* 2d ed. London: Williams & Norgate, 1875-76. 2 vols. Pp. 713. 21s.
- Renan, Ernest.** *St. Paul.* 13th ed. Paris: Levy, 1893. Pp. 570. Fr. 10. [English translation of earlier edition published by Mathieson & Co., London, 1875. Pp. 166. \$1.]
- Gilbert, G. H.** *The Student's Life of Paul.* New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 279. \$1.25. (Edition by Doran, New York, \$0.50.)
- Findlay, G. G.** Art. "Paul the Apostle," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, III (1901), 696-731.
- Farrar, F. W.** *The Life and Work of St. Paul.* New York: Dutton, 1889. Pp. 781. \$2.
- Hoennicke, G.** *Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. Pp. 68. M. 1.50.
- Wright, W. B.** *The Cities of Paul.* Boston: Houghton, 1905. Pp. 237. \$1.10.

The standard work on the life of Paul in English has been for sixty years the work of CONYBEARE and HOWSON; it still occupies this position, although now defective in many points of history and interpretation. RAMSAY has done much to illumine the Life of Paul in his three volumes dealing with special aspects of Paul's ministry. BACON gives a critical discussion of the main events of Paul's career and of the characteristics of his letters. CLEMEN presents a general Life of Paul; the first and larger volume deals with the critical problems, the second volume gives a connected account of the apostle's work; the position is that of scholarly conservatism, and the work is one of great value. WEINEL has given a valuable interpretation of the life and message of Paul, but in a sketchy and incomplete way. WREDE in his sketch of Paul occupies an advanced position similar to that of Weinell. The older radical works of BAUR and RENAN are now of secondary value, but still deserve consideration. GILBERT is chiefly concerned with the chronology and order of events in Paul's life. FINDLAY has written an excellent encyclopedic article on Paul.

FARRAR'S "Life of Paul" is still useful for its attractive style and its inspiring quality, but lacks the full present scholarship. HOENNICKE and WRIGHT present helpful special contributions toward the study of Paul.

##### 5. THE APOSTOLIC AGE

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The New Testament Times" and "The Life of Paul.")

**McGiffert, A. C.** A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 681. \$2.50.

**Weizsäcker, Carl.** The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church. 2d ed. New York: Putnam, 1899. 2 vols. Pp. 830. \$7.

Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche. 3 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. 700. M. 18.50.

**Harnack, Adolf.** The Acts of the Apostles. New York: Putnam, 1909. Pp. 303. \$1.75. Luke, The Physician. New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. 231. \$1.50. The Constitution and Law of the Churches in the First Two Centuries. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 349. \$1.25. The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. 2d ed. New York: Putnam, 1908. 2 vols. Pp. 872. \$6.50.

**Wellhausen, J., Jülicher, A., et al.** Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Teil I, Abth. IV. Num. 1. Geschichte der christlichen Religion. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. 802. M. 20.

**Hoennicke, G.** Das Judenchristentum in 1. und 2. Jahrhunderten. Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1908. Pp. 419. M. 10.

**Dobschütz, Ernst v.** Christian Life in the Primitive Church. New York: Putnam, 1904. Pp. 438. \$3. The Apostolic Age. London: Green, 1909. Pp. 144. 2s.

**Bartlet, Vernon.** The Apostolic Age: Its Life, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 586. \$2.

**Ropes, James.** The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. 327. \$1.50.

**Gilbert, G. H.** A Short History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. Chicago: University Press, 1906. Pp. 239. \$1.

**Bacon, B. W.** The Founding of the Church. Boston: Houghton, 1909. Pp. 90. \$0.50.

**Ramsay, W. M.** Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History. New York: Doran, 1906. Pp. 428. \$3. Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion. New York: Doran, 1908. Pp. 418. \$3.

**Seeligmüller, Adolph.** War Paulus Epileptiker? Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 82. M. 1.60.

**Weinel, Heinrich.** Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 63. M. 1.50.

- Heinrici, C. F. G.** *Das Urchristentum.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1902. Pp. 143. M. 2.40.
- Soden, Hermann v.** "Das Interesse des apostolischen Zeitalters an der evangelischen Geschichte," in *Theologische Abhandlungen für Weizsäcker.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1892. Pp. 60.
- Neander, Augustus.** *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church.* New York: Macmillan, 1889. 2 vols. Pp. 721. \$2.
- Renan, Ernest.** *The Apostles.* Boston: Little, 1898. Pp. 315. \$1.50.  
*Antichrist.* Boston: Little, 1897. Pp. 442. \$1.50.
- Lightfoot, J. B.** *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age.* New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. 435. \$3.50.
- Hort, F. J. A.** *Judaistic Christianity.* New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 222. \$1.75. *The Christian Ecclesia.* New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 306. \$1.75.
- Hatch, Edwin.** *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches.* New York: Longmans, 1895. Pp. 222. \$1.75.
- Lindsay, T. M.** *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.* New York: Doran, 1902. Pp. 398. \$2.

MCGIFFERT provides the New Testament student with a full, competent, and valuable interpretation of the Christian movement in the first century. WEIZSÄCKER's work has been for a generation the standard critical treatment of this period, and is still of primary authority. HARNACK has recently published three highly valuable works on the Apostolic Age, the largest contribution in the last ten years to this subject. The encyclopedic treatment of Primitive Christianity by WELLHAUSEN, JÜLICHER, *et al.*, is a masterly piece of work. HOENNICKE, DOBSCHÜTZ, BARTLET, and ROPES furnish useful expositions and discussions of the apostolic history. GILBERT has produced an excellent popular textbook for Bible classes, and BACON a suggestive sketch of the rise of the Christian church. RAMSAY, SEELIGMÜLLER, WEINEL, HEINRICI, and v. SODEN contribute valuable monographs on important aspects of the Apostolic Age. NEANDER's work was the first great conservative reply to the Tübingen school of criticism, written nearly eighty years ago and still having more than historical value. RENAN's two volumes are of secondary importance, but should not be lost sight of. The works of LIGHTFOOT, HORT, and HATCH, although a generation old, were the product of the best English scholarship, and even today are representative of conservative opinion at Oxford and Cambridge. LINDSAY's work on primitive ecclesiology stands with Hatch's and Harnack's monographs on this subject, the three providing a most valuable discussion in this difficult field.

## 6. THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Life of Jesus," "The Life of Paul," "The Apostolic Age," and "Commentaries.")

- Jülicher, Adolf.** *Introduction to the New Testament.* New York: Putnam, 1904. Pp. 658. \$4.50. [Out of print.]  
*Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* 6 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 581. M. 10.
- Moffatt, James.** *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 671. \$2.50.

**Pfleiderer, Otto.** *Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections.* New York: Putnam, 1906-10. 3 vols. Pp. 1,456. \$9. [Vol. IV soon to be published.]

*Das Urchristentum: Seine Schriften und Lehren.* 2 Aufl. Berlin: Reimer, 1902. 2 vols. Pp. 1,410. M. 24.

**Holtzmann, H. J.** *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* 3 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1892. Pp. 508. M. 11.

**Zahn, Theodor.** *Introduction to the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1909. 3 vols. Pp. 1,720. \$12.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament.* New York: Funk, 1889. 2 vols. Pp. 846. \$4.

*Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* 3 Aufl. Berlin: Hertz, 1897. Pp. 617. M. 12.50.

**Gregory, C. R.** *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 804. M. 11.20.

**Stanton, V. H.** *The Gospels as Historical Documents.* New York: Putnam, 1904-. Part I: *The Early Use of the Gospels.* Pp. 288. \$2.50. Part II: *The Synoptic Gospels.* Pp. 376. \$3.50.

**Peake, A. S.** *Critical Introduction to the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 242. \$0.75.

**Wernle, Paul.** *The Sources of Our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus.* London: Green, 1907. Pp. 163. 2s.

**Wrede, W.** *The Origin of the New Testament.* New York: Harper, 1909. Pp. 152. \$0.75.

**Soden, Hermann v.** *The History of Early Christian Literature: The Writings of the New Testament.* New York: Putnam, 1906. Pp. 476. \$1.50.

**Bacon, B. W.** *An Introduction to the New Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 285. \$1.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** *Present Status of the Inquiry Concerning the Genuineness of the Pauline Epistles.* Chicago: University Press, 1901. Pp. 78. \$0.50.

**Scott, Robert.** *The Pauline Epistles.* New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 376. \$2.

**Shaw, R. D.** *The Pauline Epistles: Introductory and Expository Studies.* New York: Scribner, 1903. Pp. 520. \$3.50.

**Bauer, W.** *Die katholischen Briefe des Neuen Testaments.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 64. M. 0.50.

JÜLICHER'S *Introduction to the New Testament*, representing advanced but not extreme scholarship, may be said to be the present standard work upon the subject. It is unfortunate that the English translation is now out of print; a new edition should be published, revised into accordance with the latest German edition. MOFFATT'S volume, long in preparation, has just appeared; evidently able and valuable, it is likely to be much used in England and America. PFLEIDERER'S massive, original, and most scholarly work, first printed in 1887 and thoroughly revised in 1902, is now available in English; it is the chief pro-

duction of one of the greatest scholars of our time, destined to receive increasing attention and to exert a much wider influence. HOLTZMANN's Introduction, for a long period the foremost German work in this field, has not been revised for twenty years. ZAHN's Introduction constitutes the stalwart conservative defense of traditional views as to the origin of the New Testament books, and the English translation is most welcome. WEISS's work occupies a similar position, but is not so recent. GREGORY's and STANTON's works are excellent new contributions, from the conservative side, to the problems of New Testament Introduction. The little volumes by PEAKE, WERNLE, WREDE, V. SODEN, and BACON are popularizing; the first conservative, the second and third radical, and the last two mediating. WEISS, SCOTT, and SHAW deal conservatively with the Pauline Epistles, the second of the three being somewhat eccentric. Shaw's work is a full, popular treatment of the questions of time, place, destination, and purpose of each of the letters. BAUER gives a very brief critical introduction to the Catholic Epistles.

## THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Life of Jesus," "The New Testament Writings," and "Commentaries;" see also "Harmonies of the Gospels" under "The Life of Jesus.")

**Wernle, Paul.** *Die synoptische Frage.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1899. Pp. 268. M. 5.50.

**Wellhausen, J.** *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien.* Berlin: Reimer, 1905. Pp. 116. M. 3.

**Harnack, Adolf.** *The Sayings of Jesus: the Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke.* New York: Putnam, 1908. Pp. 316. \$1.75. *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911. Pp. 116. M. 3.80.

**Hawkins, J. C.** *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem.* 2d ed. New York: Frowde, 1909. Pp. 239. \$2.50.

**Sanday, W., et al.** *Studies in the Synoptic Problem.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Pp. 483. 12s. 6d.

**Burkitt, F. C.** *The Gospel History and Its Transmission.* 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1907. Pp. 360. \$2.25. *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus.* Boston: Houghton, 1910. Pp. 131. \$0.50.

**Burton, E. D.** *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.* Chicago: University Press, 1904. Pp. 72. \$1.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Markusevangeliums.* Gr.-Lichterfelde: Runge, 1905. Pp. 67. M. 0.60. *Quellen des Lukasevangelium.* Stuttgart: Cotta, 1907. Pp. 276. M. 6. *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 256. M. 8.50.

**Wendling, E.** *Ur-Markus.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. Pp. 73. M. 1.50. *Die Entstehung des Markusevangeliums.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 246. M. 8.

**Müller, G. H.** *Zur Synopse: Untersuchung über die Arbeitsweise des Lukas und Matthäus und ihre Quellen.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1908. Pp. 60. M. 2.40.

**Goguel, Maurice.** *L'évangile de Marc et ses rapports avec ceux de Matthieu et de Luc.* Paris: Leroux, 1909. Pp. 323. F. 6.

- Weizsäcker, Carl.** Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und die Gang ihrer Entwicklung. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. 378. M. 8.
- Wendt, H. H.** Die Lehre Jesu. Band I. Die evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1886. Pp. 354. M. 7.
- Wright, Arthur.** The Composition of the Four Gospels. New York: Macmillan, 1890. Pp. 176. \$1.75. The Gospel according to St. Luke in Greek. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 270. \$2.50.
- Hobson, A. A.** The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem. Chicago: University Press, 1904. Pp. 80. \$0.50.
- Rushbrooke, W. G.** Synopticon: an Exposition of the Common Matter of the Synoptic Gospels. London: Macmillan, 1880. Large 4to, sheets 241, printed in colors. 35s. [Out of print.]

The problem of the origin and relations of the Synoptic Gospels is not so near a solution as was supposed ten years ago; the fundamental questions have been reopened. WERNLE's book has not been superseded as a general introduction to this study, but a very large literature has appeared since its publication. WELLHAUSEN and HARNACK represent the two extremes—the former very radical, the latter very conservative; but neither has published a complete treatment of the Synoptic Problem. HAWKINS has improved his highly useful work in the new edition. The collected Oxford Essays, edited by SANDAY and just published, promise to be interesting and helpful. BURKITT's two volumes take a somewhat advanced position, and make a first-class contribution to the subject. BURTON's monograph ably advocates a new view of the documentary sources of Matthew and Luke. The three recent monographs by B. WEISS (who is now eighty-four years old) are helpful studies, but not on advanced lines. WENDLING, MÜLLER, and GOGUEL represent the most recent point of view and method in dealing with this problem. WEIZSÄCKER's work, first published in 1864 and never revised, still has value; WENDT's discussion also is still deserving of consideration. WRIGHT has helped with his several books. HOBSON shows the bearings of Tatian's "Diatessaron" upon the problem. RUSHBROOKE, in the "Synopticon," presents in parallel columns the text of the gospels, showing by typographical devices the detailed relation of the accounts; the work is almost indispensable for synoptic study.

#### THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Apostolic Age," "The New Testament Writings," and "Commentaries.")

- Sanday, William.** The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel. New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. 268. \$1.75.
- Drummond, James.** An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. 528. \$3.50.
- Wendt, H. H.** The Gospel according to St. John: An Inquiry into Its Genesis and Historical Value. New York: Scribner, 1902. Pp. 260. \$2.50.
- Schmiedel, P. W.** The Johannine Writings. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 287. \$1.50.
- Bacon, B. W.** The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate. New York: Moffat, 1910. Pp. 544. \$4.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1909. Pp. 466. M. 16.



- Scott, E. F.** *The Historical and Religious Value of the Fourth Gospel.* Boston: Houghton, 1909. Pp. 93. \$0.50.
- Wrede, W.** *Charakter und Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1903. Pp. 71. M. 1.25.
- Loisy, Alfred.** *Le quatrième évangile.* Paris: Picard, 1903. Pp. 960. Fr. 15.
- Lewis, F. G.** *The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel: Its Extent, Meaning and Value.* Chicago: University Press, 1908. Pp. 64. \$0.50.
- Askwith, E. H.** *The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel.* London: Hodder, 1910. Pp. 328. 6s.
- Worsley, F. W.** *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists.* New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 181. \$1.25.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1910. Pp. 512. M. 16.
- Baldensperger, W.** *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1898. Pp. 171. M. 4.40.

The Gospel of John continues to be vigorously attacked and vigorously defended, but the present defense concedes much. The chief conservative discussions, maintaining direct apostolic authorship and large historical value, are by SANDAY and DRUMMOND. WENDT has a thorough, original handling of the subject, advocating a partial apostolic authorship and historicity. SCHMIEDEL and BACON deny both apostolic authorship and direct historical quality, the book being viewed as a second-century Christological apologetic. SPITTA and SCOTT represent mediating positions. WREDE and LOISY, the former briefly, the latter at great length, subject the book to a radical criticism. LEWIS, ASKWITH, WORSLEY, and SPITTA are moderately conservative. BALDENSPERGER'S monograph on the prologue to the Gospel is still useful. We are clearer than before that the fundamental issue is whether or not the Fourth Gospel contains first-hand information concerning the life and the teaching of Jesus.

#### THE BOOK OF ACTS

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Apostolic Age," "The New Testament Writings," and "Commentaries.")

- Harnack, Adolf.** *Luke, the Physician.* New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. 231. \$1.50. *The Acts of the Apostles.* New York: Putnam, 1909. Pp. 303. \$1.75. *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911. Pp. 116. M. 3.80.
- Chase, F. H.** *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles.* New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 314. \$1.75.
- Clemen, Carl.** *Die Apostelgeschichte, im Lichte der neueren text-, quellen-, und historisch-kritischen Forschungen.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1905. Pp. 61. M. 1.80.
- Hilgenfeld, Adolf.** *Acta Apostolorum, Graece et Latine.* Berlin: Reimer, 1899. Pp. 324. M. 9.
- Blass, Friedrich.** *Acta Apostolorum, secundum Formam quae videtur Romanam.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1896. Pp. 96. M. 2.

- Weiss, Bernhard.** Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte, textkritische Untersuchung. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897. Pp. 112. M. 3.50.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Werth. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1891. Pp. 380. M. 8.
- Jüngst, Johannes.** Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte. Gotha: Perthes, 1895. Pp. 226. M. 4.
- Weiss, Johannes.** Ueber die Absicht und die literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1897. Pp. 60. M. 2.
- Bethge, Friedrich.** Die paulinischen Reden der Apostelgeschichte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1887. Pp. 336. M. 6.

During the last five years little has been done toward advancing our knowledge of the book of Acts. HARNACK's three volumes are the only new ones to be mentioned here, and they are decidedly conservative. CHASE gives the best argument in behalf of the historicity of the Acts: he is scholarly and reasonable. CLEMEN represents an intelligent moderate position regarding the criticism of the book. HILGENFELD's is the chief presentation of the "Western" text of Acts, and of the witnesses thereto. BLASS attempts to reconstruct the "Western" text of Acts, furnishing also a brief critical apparatus. B. WEISS presents an argument against the "Western" text in favor of the commonly accepted text of Acts. SPITTA, JÜNGST, and J. WEISS, present helpful contributions to the study of the Acts, chiefly concerning the sources of its material. BETHGE discusses conservatively the historicity of the long Pauline discourses in the book of Acts.

#### 7. THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON

- Leipoldt, Johannes.** Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 469. M. 7.80.
- Gregory, C. R.** Canon and Text of the New Testament. New York: Scribner, 1907. Pp. 539. \$2.50.
- Moore, E. C.** The New Testament in the Christian Church. New York: Macmillan, 1904. Pp. 367. \$1.50.
- Westcott, B. F.** The History of the Canon of the New Testament. 6th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1889. Pp. 593. \$3. The Bible in the Church. New York: Macmillan, 1889. Pp. 316. \$1.25.
- Nicol, Thomas.** The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1908. Pp. 348. 7s. 6d.
- Charteris, A. H.** Canoncity: A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canon and Books of the New Testament. London: Blackwood, 1880. Pp. 484. 18s.
- Zahn, Theodor.** Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Leipzig: Deichert, 1888-92. 2 vols. Pp. 1,990. M. 50. Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. Pp. 84. M. 2.80.
- Harnack, Adolf.** Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius. I Band, Teil 1: Ueberlieferung und Bestand der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius. Teil 2: Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Irenaeus. II Band: Chronologie der Literatur von Irenaeus bis Eusebius. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893-1904. Pp. 2,316. M. 83.40. Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200. Tübingen: Mohr, 1889. Pp. 112. M. 2.

**Bardenhewer, Otto.** Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. Band I: Vom Ausgange des apostolischen Zeitalters bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Band II: Vom Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des vierten Jahrhunderts. Freiburg: Herder, 1902-3. Pp. 1,258. M. 21.40.

The new work by LEIPOLDT marks progress in the study of the rise of the New Testament Canon; it should be translated into English. GREGORY has given a readable popular presentation of the subject with much scholarship beneath. MOORE gives a good treatment for the general reader of the estimation and use of the New Testament books in the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. WESTCOTT'S two books furnish a compact account of the development of the New Testament Canon, and of the place of the Bible in the Church during the subsequent centuries. NICOL has a fresh and excellent exposition of the status of the four gospels in the second century. CHARTERIS has long been the repository of information concerning Ante-Nicene testimony to the New Testament books. ZAHN and HARNACK, the former very conservative in his conclusions, the latter original and progressive, are the two great works upon the Canon; each of the authors has also issued a brief résumé of his position. BARDENHEWER adds a third elaborate work on the same subject, written from an enlightened Roman Catholic standpoint. The larger works on New Testament Introduction named above (under I, 6), especially those of JÜLICHER, HOLTZMANN, STANTON, and WEISS, contain a concise account of the formation of the Canon.

#### 8. EARLY EXTRA-CANONICAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

(In addition to the works named under the head of "The New Testament Canon.")

**Swete, H. B.** Patristic Study. New York: Longmans, 1902. Pp. 206. \$0.90.

**Bardenhewer, O.** Patrologie. 3 Aufl. Freiburg: Herder, 1910. Pp. 600. M. 11.

**Krüger, Gustav.** History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 409. \$2. Nachträge. Tübingen: Mohr, 1897. Pp. 32. M. 0.60.

**Preuschen, Ed.** Antilegomena: Die Reste der ausser-kanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Ueberlieferungen. 2 Aufl. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1905. Pp. 216. M. 4.40.

**Gebhardt, O., Harnack, A., and Zahn, Th.** Patrum Apostolicum Opera. Editio quinta minor. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. 232. M. 2.

**Funk, F. X.** Patres Apostolici. Editio secunda. Tübingen: Laupp, 1901. 2 vols. Pp. 952. M. 16.40.

**Lightfoot, J. B.** The Apostolic Fathers. New York: Macmillan, 1885-90. Part I: St. Clement of Rome, 2 vols., pp. 496; Part II: St. Ignatius, Polycarp, 3 vols., pp. 1,857. \$26.50. Abridged edition in one volume, containing the revised texts with short introductions and English translations. New York: Macmillan, 1893. Pp. 569. \$4.

**Knopf, Rudolf.** Das nachapostolische Zeitalter. Geschichte der christlichen Gemeinden vom Beginn der Flavierdynastie bis zum Ende Hadrians dargestellt. Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. Pp. 468. M. 11.50.

**Bartlet, J. V., and others.** The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers. New York: Frowde, 1905. Pp. 144. \$2.

- Hennecke, Edgar.** Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, in deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Einleitungen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Pp. 558. M. 7.50. Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Pp. 604. M. 12.
- Walker, Alex.** English Translation of the "Apocrypha of the New Testament," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII. New York: Scribner, 1899. \$4.
- Orr, James.** The New Testament Apocryphal Writings. *Temple Bible*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1904. Pp. 137. \$0.40.
- Tasker, J. G.** Art. "Apocryphal Gospels" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 420-38.
- Handmann, Rudolph.** Das Hebräer-Evangelium. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1888. Pp. 142. M. 4.50.
- Swete, H. B.** The Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. London: Macmillan, 1893. Pp. 82. 5s.
- Taylor, Charles.** The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels. New York: Frowde, 1899. Pp. 115. \$0.75. The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus Found in 1903. New York: Frowde, 1905. Pp. 36. \$0.70.
- Ropes, J. H.** Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896. Pp. 176. M. 5.50. Art. "Agrapha" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 343-52.
- Resch, Alfred.** Agrapha: Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente, gesammelt und untersucht. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. 426. M. 10.
- Bartlet, Vernon.** Art. "Didaché" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 438-51.
- Schaff, Philip.** The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. 3d ed. New York: Funk, 1890. Pp. 325. \$2.50.
- Schlecht, Joseph.** Doctrina XII Apostolorum. Freiburg: Herder, 1901. Pp. 144. M. 5.
- Klein, G.** Die älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur. Berlin: Reimer, 1909. Pp. 273. M. 6.
- Stenning, J. F.** Art. "Diatessaron" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 451-61.
- Hill, J. H.** The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian written about 160 A.D. New York: Scribner, 1894. Pp. 379. \$4. New abridged ed., 1910; pp. 223; \$1.25.
- Zahn, Theodor.** Tatian's Diatessaron. Erlangen: Deichert, 1881. Pp. 386. M. 9.
- Harris, J. R.** The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, now first published from the Syriac Version. Cambridge: University Press, 1909. Pp. 172. 12s.

**Harnack, A., and Flemming, J.** Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmenbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 134. M. 5.50.

SWETE gives a good brief introduction to the writings of the Ante-Nicene Christians. BARDENHEWER's similar work is much larger, and represents the better scholarship of the Roman Catholic church. KRÜGER's work is a highly valuable manual concerning these writings, with elaborate and useful lists of literature for the study of each. PREUSCHEN's is the best collection of the remains of gospel material outside the New Testament books. GEBHARDT, *et al.*, FUNK, and LIGHTFOOT present standard texts of the writings of the "Apostolic Fathers." KNOPF gives a valuable discussion of the post-apostolic Christian history and writings (canonical and extra-canonical); his work is advanced in position, scholarly, and stimulating. BARTLET, *et al.*, furnish a helpful exhibit of New Testament quotations and allusions in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. HENNECKE's two volumes furnish a standard German edition, with text, introduction, and discussion, of the New Testament Apocrypha. WALKER's translation of the Apocrypha and ORR's small volume are the best for English readers. TASKER has written a valuable encyclopedic article on the Apocryphal Gospels. HANDMANN's is the chief monograph on the Gospel according to the Hebrews; SWETE's is the chief monograph in English on the Gospel of Peter; TAYLOR's two brochures contain the fullest discussion of the three series of Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus. ROPES's German monograph and English article present the best discussion of the Agrapha. RESCH's earlier and more elaborate work on the same subject has been revised. BARTLET, SCHAFF, SCHLECHT, and KLEIN give good treatments of the Didache; Schaff's is a manual edition. STENNING, HILL, and ZAHN give excellent discussions of the Diatessaron of Tatian; Hill's is a manual edition. The newly discovered Odes of Solomon have been finely issued, with excellent introductory treatment, by HARRIS for England and by HARNACK and FLEMMING for Germany.

### 9. DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE

**Dictionary of the Bible.** Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, assisted by J. A. Selbie. New York: Scribner, 1898-1904. 5 vols. Cloth, \$30.

**Encyclopedia Biblica.** A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. New York: Macmillan, 1899-1903. 4 vols. Cloth, \$20.

**Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.** Edited by James Hastings. New York: Scribner, 1908-. Vol. I (1908), A-Art, pp. 888; Vol. II (1909), Arthur-Bunyan, pp. 924; Vol. III (1911), Burial-Confessions, pp. 901. To be complete in 10 or 12 vols. \$7 a vol.

**Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.** Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel, herausgegeben von F. M. Schiele und Leopold Zscharnack. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908-. Vol. I (1908), A-Deutschland, pp. 1,064; Vol. II (1910), Deutschmann-Hessen, pp. 1,097. To be complete in 5 vols. M. 23 a vol.

**Encyclopedia Britannica.** 11th ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1911. 29 vols. Different papers and bindings, at various prices. (Many important articles dealing with the New Testament.)

**Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.** Herausgegeben von Albert Hauck. 3 Aufl. Leipzig: 1896-1909. 22 vols. M. 260.

**New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.** Edited by S. M. Jackson. New York: Funk, 1908-. 9 vols. already published; to be complete in 12 vols. \$5 a vol.; special price for the set, \$40.

**The Jewish Encyclopedia.** A Descriptive Record of the History, Literature and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Edited by I. Singer. New York: Funk, 1901-6. 12 vols. \$84.

**Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.** Edited by James Hastings. New York: Scribner, 1906-8. 2 vols. Pp. 1,848. \$12.

**Dictionary of the Bible.** Edited by James Hastings. New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 992. \$5.

**Standard Dictionary of the Bible.** Edited by M. W. Jacobus, E. E. Nourse, A. C. Zenos. New York: Funk, 1909. Pp. 920. \$6.

The last decade has been remarkable for the great new encyclopedias in the field of biblical and religious learning. HASTINGS' Dictionary of the Bible and CHEYNE'S Encyclopedia Biblica arose in the first half, the former representing a moderate scholarly conservatism, the latter an advanced criticism, especially in the main articles. Both works have become standard authorities, and indispensable for all students. The last half of the decade has produced still other great encyclopedias. HASTINGS' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics is a vast undertaking of first importance; the three volumes already issued show how completely, promptly, and successfully it is to be accomplished. The religion and ethics of the Bible are to be given their historical setting and social valuation. A similar work on a smaller scale is SCHIELE'S Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, upon which the finest body of scholars in Germany is now engaged. Of foremost significance and value also is the new eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, prepared chiefly by British scholars; it is probable that its articles on the Bible and religion will do much to promote widely the historical interpretations represented by progressive scholarship. The third edition of the extensive HAUCK Realencyklopädie is now completed, making the primary conservative work in Germany. Upon the basis of it, with much abbreviation and some supplementation, JACKSON is producing a new edition of the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. SINGER's splendid work, the Jewish Encyclopedia, recording the entire history of the Jewish people from ancient times to the present, is now finished and is unequaled in its field.

[If these works are too large to be called popular, there is no lack of small Dictionaries to meet the popular needs. In the last five years three new excellent ones have been published. DR. HASTINGS' has produced two of these: the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, intended to be homiletically useful for ministers; and the one-volume Dictionary of the Bible, which is quite the best work of its size and kind for Sunday-school and family use. The Standard Dictionary of the Bible, by JACOBUS, *et al.*, is another useful work designed for a similar constituency.]

## II. LANGUAGE

### 1. GRAMMAR

**Moulton, J. H.** Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. I, Prolegomena. 3d ed. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 293. \$3.

**Winer, G. B.** Grammar of New Testament Greek. Third English revised edition, by W. F. Moulton. New York: Scribner, 1882. Pp. 848. \$5.

**Winer, G. B.** Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. 8 Aufl., neu bearbeitet von P. W. Schmiedel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1894-. Teil I (1894), pp. 144, M. 2.60; Teil II (1897-98), pp. 145-272, M. 2. (Incomplete.)

**Blass, Friedrich.** Grammar of New Testament Greek. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 376. \$5.

**Burton, E. D.** Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. 3d ed. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 215. \$1.50.

- Robertson, A. T.** *A Short Grammar of the New Testament Greek.* 2d ed. New York: Doran, 1909. Pp. 240. \$1.50.
- Radermacher, L.** *Neutestamentliche Grammatik. Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache dargestellt.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1911. Pp. 200. M. 6.
- Thackeray, H. St. J.** *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. I, Introduction, Orthography and Accidence.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1909. Pp. 346. \$2.
- Helbing, Robert.** *Grammatik der Septuaginta: Laut- und Wortlehre.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1907. Pp. 149. M. 6.60.
- Swete, H. B.** *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1900. Pp. 592. \$2.50.

MOULTON has produced the introductory part of a large New Testament grammar, the first independent work of the kind outside of Germany. It gives promise of being a great work, and we may hope for its early completion. Meanwhile the well-known and much used Grammar of New Testament Greek by WINER is everywhere recognized as the standard. The translation of Moulton, with his additional notes, is the best complete work on the subject. The eighth edition of Winer's Grammar, begun by SCHMIDEL, is an entire revision—practically a new work—and will no doubt be a worthy successor to Winer's own volume if it can be carried through (no addition has been made to it for twelve years). BLASS's Grammar is next in importance, written from the standpoint of a classical Greek scholar, and dealing more with the phenomena of syntax and text than with the specific interpretation of particular words and phrases of the New Testament. BURTON's book is a compact, excellent manual for class and study use, with little specific interpretation. ROBERTSON's manual is more comprehensive as an introduction to New Testament Greek, but lacks breadth and exactness of scholarship. RADERMACHER's work is not a formal grammar, but a valuable introduction to the study of the New Testament Greek. We are now becoming well equipped with books on the Septuagint Greek; THACKERAY and HELBING have issued the first parts of grammars, and SWETE's Introduction is very useful. There is great opportunity for fresh work and riper results in the field of New Testament grammar.

## 2. LEXICOGRAPHY

- Thayer, J. H.** *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* New York: American Book Co., 1887. Pp. 726. Cloth, \$5.
- Wilke-Grimm, *Clavis Novi Testamenti.* 4 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 474. M. 12.
- Preuschen, Erwin.** *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1910. Cols. 1,184. M. 15.
- Schirlitz, S. C.** *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.* Neu bearbeitet von Th. Eger. 6 Aufl. Giessen: Roth, 1908. Pp. 458. M. 7.50.
- Deissmann, G. A.** *Bible Studies: Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions.* New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 384. \$3. *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World.* New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 554. \$4. *The Philology of the Greek Bible.* New York: Doran, 1908. Pp. 160. \$1.
- Milligan, George.** *Selections from the Greek Papyri.* New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 152. \$1.50.

- Moulton, J. H.**, and **Milligan, Geo.** "Lexical Notes from the Papyri," in *The Expositor*, 1908-11.
- Kennedy, H. A. A.** *Sources of New Testament Greek; or, the Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1895. Pp. 172. \$1.75.
- Trench, R. C.** *Synonyms of the New Testament.* 10th ed. London: Paul, 1886. Pp. 405. 12s.
- Heine, Gerhard.** *Synonymik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.* Leipzig: Haberland, 1898. Pp. 222. M. 6.

THAYER'S revision of the Wilke-Grimm "*Clavis Novi Testamenti*" (from the second German edition, 1879) is the standard general lexicon in English for the study of the Greek New Testament, and is indispensable for all good work; nevertheless, it is a generation old and much behind the present scholarship. The Lexicon by PREUSCHEN does not take the place of the Thayer because so much smaller a work, but supplements Thayer in a valuable way. SCHIRLITZ'S Lexicon is good, but not necessary for the English student. DEISSMANN'S contributions have reconstructed in some important respects the current idea of the characteristics of New Testament Greek; his *Light from the Ancient East* is a work of primary importance for New Testament study. It is understood that Deissmann has in preparation a Lexicon of New Testament Greek which will make full use of the papyrus material, and may take first place for general use. MILLIGAN shows some of the gains which come from this field in his book, and in his joint articles with MOULTON. KENNEDY gives a well-balanced and informing account of the origin and characteristics of the vocabulary of New Testament Greek. TRENCH'S work on the New Testament Synonyms, long known and much praised, is still useful, although not fully in accord with present knowledge and interpretation. HEINE'S is a later work in the same field, important as a corrective and supplement to Trench.

### 3. ARAMAIC AND SYRIAC

- Meyer, Arnold.** *Jesu Muttersprache: das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1896. Pp. 176. M. 3.
- Zahn, Theodor.** "On the Language of Palestine," in *Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. I, pp. 1-72. (See above under THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS.)
- Dalman, Gustaf.** *The Words of Jesus, Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language.* New York: Scribner, 1902. Pp. 350. \$2.50. *Grammatik der jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud, des Onkelostargum und Prophetentargum und der jerusalemischen Targume.* 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 419. M. 13.
- Margolis, M. L.** *A Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud: Grammar, Chrestomathy and Glossaries.* New York: Stechert, 1910. Pp. 300. \$3.
- Strack, H. L.** *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaischen.* 4 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 100. M. 2.50.
- Schwally, Fr.** *Idioticon des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1893. Pp. 134. M. 6.40.
- Nöldeke, Th.** *A Compendious Syriac Grammar.* London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. Pp. 336. 18s.



**Smith, J. Payne.** *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.* New York: Frowde, 1903. Pp. 626. \$21.

**Brockelmann, C.** *Syrische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar.* 2d ed. Berlin: Reuther, 1904. Pp. 230. M. 8.80. *Lexicon Syriacum.* Berlin: Reuther, 1895. Pp. 510. M. 30.

**Wilson, R. D.** *Introductory Syriac Method and Manual.* New York: Scribner, 1891. Pp. 160. \$2.50. *Elements of Syriac Grammar, by an Inductive Method.* New York: Scribner, 1891. Pp. 209. \$2.50.

MEYER'S is the standard discussion arguing that the vernacular of Jesus was Aramaic, and indicating the bearing of this fact on the interpretation of the gospels. ZAHN argues fully and convincingly that Jesus gave his message in Aramaic. DALMAN shows still farther how a knowledge of Aramaic promotes correct New Testament interpretation. His *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* is of great importance for this subject, and we now have from MARGOLIS a grammar of the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud. SCHWALLY'S glossary is useful. The Syriac Grammars of NÖLDEKE (now available in English) and of BROCKELMANN give what is needed in this direction. The two Syriac Lexicons by SMITH (with English translation) and BROCKELMANN complete the present fine equipment for the study of Aramaic and Syriac by the New Testament scholar. WILSON'S two volumes will be found helpful to the beginner in Syriac.

#### 4. CONCORDANCES

**Moulton, W. F., and Geden, A. S.** *Concordance to the Greek Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1897. Pp. 1,037. \$7.

**Hatch, Edwin, and Redpath, H. A.** *Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament.* New York: Frowde, 1892-96. 6 vols. Pp. 1,504. \$31.50. Supplement, Fasc. I: a Concordance to the Proper Names Occurring in the Septuagint. New York: Frowde, 1900. Pp. 162. \$4.

**Goodspeed, E. J.** *Index Patristicus; sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 262. M. 4.80.

**Thoms, J. A.** *Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1883. Pp. 532. \$2.50.

**Young, Robert.** *Analytical Concordance to the Bible.* 7th ed. New York: Funk, 1893. Pp. 1,108. \$6.

**Strong, James.** *Exhaustive Concordance to the Bible.* New York: Eaton, 1894. Pp. 1,808. \$6.

**Walker, J. B. R.** *Comprehensive Concordance to the Bible in the Authorized Version.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1894. Pp. 922. \$1.

MOULTON AND GEDEN furnish a satisfactory and highly useful Concordance to the Greek of the New Testament, superseding BRUDER'S Concordance which has held the field for many years. The HATCH AND REDPATH Concordance to the Septuagint is also indispensable to the thorough New Testament scholar. GOODSPEED publishes a Concordance to the Greek of the "Apostolic Fathers." THOMS'S Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament is useful to the student of the English Bible. YOUNG'S and STRONG'S Concordances, also for the English student, are exhaustive and encyclopedic. WALKER'S edition of the Cruden Concordance is for those who use the Authorized Version.

#### 5. OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS

**Toy, C. H.** *Quotations in the New Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1884. Pp. 363. \$3.50.

**Hühn, Eugen.** Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente. Tübingen: Mohr, 1900. Pp. 300. M. 6.

**Dittmar, W.** Vetus Testamentum in Novo. Die alttestamentlichen Parallelen des Neuen Testaments, im Wortlaut der Urtexte und der Septuaginta zusammengestellt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 362. M. 9.40.

TOY gives the simplest and best treatment for the general student of the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, containing valuable discussion in conjunction with the texts of the quotations. HÜHN and DITTMAR are also excellent, each work having some individual features.

### III. TEXT

#### 1. THE GREEK TEXT

**Westcott, B. F., and Hort, F. J. A.** The New Testament in Greek. First edition in 1881; many reprints. New York: Macmillan. In various styles; text alone, pp. 618, \$1 and upward; with small lexicon, \$1.90. Two-volume edition, Vol. I containing the text, Vol. II containing text-critical introduction; \$2 a volume.

**Tischendorf, C.** Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava critica maior. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1869-72. 2 vols. Pp. 2,134. M. 43.

**Gebhardt, O.** Novum Testamentum Graece. (Manual edition of Tischendorf's text, eighth edition, with the variant readings of Westcott-Hort and Tregelles.) 8 Aufl. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1902. Pp. 492. M. 4.

**Baljon, J. M. S.** Novum Testamentum Graece. (Manual edition with extensive and carefully revised text-critical apparatus.) Groningen: Wolters, 1898. Pp. 731. M. 10.

**Nestle, E.** Novum Testamentum Graece, cum apparatu critico. 6 Aufl. Stuttgart: Bibelanstalt, 1906. Pp. 666. M. 3.

**Lloyd, Carolus.** Novum Testamentum Graece. Accedunt parallela S. Scripturae loca, etc. With critical appendices by W. Sanday. New York: Frowde, 1889. Pp. 852. \$1.50.

**Scrivener, F. H. A.** The New Testament in Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version, together with the Variants Adopted in the Revised Version. 3d ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. Pp. 658. Various editions, 3s. to 5s. The New Testament, Greek and English, arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version; Greek according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version, with the Variants adopted in the Revised Version. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. Pp. 1,131. 9s.

The WESTCOTT-HORT text of the New Testament is the standard in Great Britain and America, the TISCHENDORF text is the standard in Germany; there is but little difference between the two, the principles of text-recovery being much the same in both. Tischendorf's major edition contains the most complete text-critical apparatus of the New Testament yet published. The best manual edition of a text-critical apparatus is that by BALJON, digested from Tischendorf, and with many important additions selected from recently recovered text witnesses. NESTLE's text is practically that of Westcott-Hort and Tischendorf, with some individual details, and a very slight marginal apparatus. LLOYD's work is valu-

able as an edition of the *Textus Receptus* for comparative study. New editions of the *Textus Receptus* as published by SCRIVENER have been issued. We are still waiting for the critical text of the New Testament that is being prepared by v. SODEN and his collaborators (see under next section).

## 2. TEXT-CRITICISM

- Gregory, C. R.** *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900-1909. 3 vols. Pp. 1,486. M. 40. *Canon and Text of the New Testament*. New York: Scribner, 1907. Pp. 539. \$2.50.
- Soden, Hermann v.** *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*. Berlin: Duncker, 1902-. Band I, Abth. 1 (1902), Abth. 2 (1906), Abth. 3 (1907). Pp. 1,648. To be complete in two volumes. M. 60.
- Westcott, B. F., and Hort, F. J. A.** *The New Testament in Greek, Vol. II.* (See under preceding section.) New York: Macmillan, 1882. Pp. 497. \$2.
- Nestle, Eberhard.** *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*. New York: Putnam, 1901. Pp. 351. \$3.  
*Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament.* 3 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1909. Pp. 298. M. 5.60.
- Kenyon, F. G.** *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 321. \$3.25.
- Lake, Kirsopp.** *The Text of the Testament*. 4th ed. New York: Gorham, 1908. Pp. 108. \$0.30.
- Murray, J. O. F.** Art. "Textual Criticism of the New Testament," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V (1904), 208-236.
- Scrivener, F. H. A.** *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*. 4th ed. Edited by Edward Miller. New York: Macmillan, 1894. 2 vols. Pp. 846. \$10.
- Schaff, Philip.** *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*. 4th ed. New York: Harper, 1894. Pp. 618. \$2.75.
- Vincent, M. R.** *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 197. \$1.
- Burkitt, F. C.** *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe. The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the Readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the Early Syriac Patristic Evidence*. New York: Macmillan, 1904. 2 vols. Pp. 878. \$15.
- Lewis, Agnes S.** *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe. Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other Manuscripts, and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1910. Pp. 412. 25s. *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. New York: Macmillan, 1894. Pp. 239. \$2.

**Merx, A.** Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte. Uebersetzung und Erläuterung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift. Berlin: Reimer, 1897-. Band I: Uebersetzung, pp. 258, M. 5. Band II: Erläuterung. I. Teil. Das Evangelium Matthaeus (1902), pp. 438, M. 12. II. Teil, 1. Hälfte. Das Evangelium Markus und Lukas (1905), pp. 555, M. 16. II. Teil, 2. Hälfte. Das Evangelium des Johannes (1911), pp. 594, M. 16.

**Soden, Hans v.** Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians. Nach Bibelhandschriften und patristischen Zeugnissen zusammengestellt und herausgegeben. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 663. M. 24.

**Turner, C. H.** "Historical Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1908-10.

GREGORY's two recent works, the former most elaborate, present the material and status of New Testament text-recovery and are of first importance, as is also the massive work by v. SODEN, of which the first volume is already published. Gregory follows the older school of text critics in standing for the relative originality of the "Neutral" type of text (such as Westcott-Hort and Tischendorf present), while v. Soden represents the younger school that believes the "Western" type of text antedates, and is relatively more original than, the "Neutral" type. These two great works, when the latter is complete, will admirably present for consideration the two radically different current theories. The Westcott-Hort companion volume to their text is the best exposition of modern principles of text-criticism as applied to the New Testament, and the appendix is of great value for the discussion of the true textual reading in specific important passages. NESTLE and KENYON have written excellent manuals for the general student. LAKE's little textbook on the subject is a gem of concise information and intelligent guidance. MURRAY's encyclopedia article is helpful. The fourth edition of SCRIVENER's work received important revision and enlargement, and is still useful, particularly for its discussion of the text of specific passages. SCHAFF's popular volume, reflecting the Westcott-Hort position, is very interesting and instructive for the general reader. The introduction to the study of the New Testament text by VINCENT is simple and helpful. BURKITT's massive work is an attempt to gather and arrange all the light thrown upon the New Testament text by the Syriac versions and other Syriac testimony; MRS. LEWIS has now published a work on similar lines, with kindred but not identical results. The two works together constitute an exhaustive if not final exhibit and valuation of this important witness to the text of the Gospels. MRS. LEWIS' translation of the Syriac Gospels is useful for the English student. MERX has produced the chief German work on the Sinaitic Codex of the Gospels.

### 3. THE ENGLISH VERSIONS

**The American Standard Edition of the Revised Version of the New Testament.**

First issued in 1901. New York: Nelson. Many editions. Entire Bible, \$0.35 and upward; New Testament, \$0.20 and upward. Entire Bible, in bourgeois type, 5¼×8 in., cloth, \$1; leather, \$1.75 and upward. Same on India paper, volume ¾ in. thick; leather, \$3.50 and upward. Teachers' edition, with Bible Dictionary and Concordance, \$2.25 and upward. Pulpit Bible, quarto, \$3.75.

**The British Edition of the Revised Version of the New Testament.** First issued in 1881. Many editions by the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses; also by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York.

**The New Testament in the Revised Version of 1881, with Fuller References.** New York: Frowde, 1910. Various editions, \$1.50 and upward.

**The Holy Bible, Authorized Version,** edited with Various Renderings and Readings from the best Authorities. The Old Testament, T. K. Cheyne,

S. R. Driver; The Apocrypha, C. J. Ball; The New Testament, R. L. Clarke, W. Sanday. 3d edition. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892. Issued under the title "The VARIORUM TEACHERS' BIBLE," with Bible Dictionary, Index, and Concordance, by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York. Various editions, \$2 and upward.

**Parallel Editions of the Revised and Authorized Versions**, for comparative study. Various editions by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, and other publishers.

**The Modern Reader's Bible.** Substantially the British Revised Version of the Bible, with introductions and notes. Edited by R. G. Moulton. New York: Macmillan, 1898. The entire Bible in twenty-one vols., \$10; the New Testament in four vols., \$0.50 a volume; the entire Bible in one vol., 1907, pp. 1,733, \$2.

**The Temple Bible.** The Authorized Version of the Bible in the modern form of literature, with brief introductions. Edited by various British scholars. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900-1905. The entire Bible in twenty-five vols.; the New Testament in seven vols.; the Apocrypha of the Old Testament in five vols., and of the New Testament in one vol.; \$0.40 a vol.

**The Messages of the Bible.** Edited by C. F. Kent and F. K. Sanders. New York: Scribner, 1900-1905. The New Testament in five volumes: Vol. VIII, the Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, by F. C. Porter; Vol. IX, the Messages of Jesus according to the Synoptists, by T. C. Hall; Vol. X, The Messages of Jesus according to John, by J. S. Riggs; Vol. XI, The Messages of Paul, by G. B. Stevens; Vol. XII, The Messages of the Apostles, by G. B. Stevens. \$1.25 a vol.

**The Twentieth Century New Testament.** A translation into modern English from the original Greek (Westcott-Hort text). Anonymous British authors. Final ed. Chicago: Revell, 1905. Pp. 523. \$1.

**Weymouth, R. F.** The Modern Speech New Testament. An idiomatic translation into everyday English, from the text of Weymouth's "Resultant Greek Testament." Edited and partly revised by E. H. Cook. London: Clarke, 1905. Pp. 674. 3s. 6d.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD EDITION OF THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT is clearly the best form of the Revised Version, superior in many text readings, and in the chapter headings, to the BRITISH EDITION which remains as first issued twenty years before the American Standard edition was published. New editions of the British Revised Version have just been published, containing a wholly revised and enlarged set of references. The best edition of the Authorized Version for comparative study is the VARIORUM TEACHERS' BIBLE. Parallel editions of the English versions, and of the Greek texts with the English versions (see under preceding section), are helpful. The MODERN READER'S BIBLE and the TEMPLE BIBLE, giving respectively the Revised Version and the Authorized Version, attractively present the New Testament in modern typographical form. The volumes of the MESSAGES OF THE BIBLE series give the thought of the New Testament writers reclothed in modern vocabulary, with modern forms of thought and expression. [The TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT, and WEYMOUTH'S work, present a word-for-word translation, but with modernized vocabulary and idiom; the former departs farther from the Revised Version than the latter.

## IV. INTERPRETATION

## 1. HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

- Gilbert, G. H. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 309. \$1.25.
- Nash, Henry S. *History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1903. Pp. 192. \$1.
- Farrar, F. W. *The History of Interpretation*. New York: Dutton, 1886. Pp. 553. \$3.50.
- Briggs, C. A. *A General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 688. \$3.
- Moulton, R. G. *The Literary Study of the Bible*. 2d ed. Boston: Heath, 1899. Pp. 569. \$2.
- Immer, A. H. *Hermeneutics of the New Testament*. 3d ed. Andover, Mass.: Draper, 1890. Pp. 395. \$1.75.
- Terry, M. S. *Biblical Hermeneutics: a Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testament*. 3d ed. New York: Eaton, 1890. Pp. 511. \$3.
- Weiss, Johannes. *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1908. Pp. 56. M. 1.40.
- Fiebig, Paul. *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Forschung in der Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 24. M. 0.50.
- Scott, E. F. *The Apologetic of the New Testament*. New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. 258. \$1.50.
- Selleck, W. C. *The New Appreciation of the Bible*. Chicago: University Press, 1907. Pp. 409. \$1.50.
- Sanday, William. *The Oracles of God: The Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration*. 3d ed. New York: Longmans, 1891. Pp. 156. \$1.50.
- Inspiration: Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration*. 3d ed. New York: Longmans, 1896. Pp. 505. \$2.50.
- Robinson, J. A. *Some Thoughts on Inspiration*. New York: Longmans, 1905. Pp. 63. \$0.50.
- Clarke, W. N. *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology*. New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. 170. \$1.
- Sixty Years with the Bible: A Record of Experience*. New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 259. \$1.25.
- Dods, Marcus. *The Bible: Its Origin and Nature*. New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. 260. \$1.
- Peake, A. S. *The Bible in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 225. \$1.25.
- Swete, H. B., *et al.* *Cambridge Essays upon Some Biblical Questions of the Day*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 568. \$3.50.

**Carpenter, J. E.** *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Longmans, 1903. Pp. 512. \$3.50.

**Picton, J. A.** *Man and the Bible: A Review of the Place of the Bible in Human History.* New York: Holt, 1909. Pp. 334. \$2.

**Schweitzer, Albert.** *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede.* New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 410. \$3.50.

**Weinel, Heinrich.** *Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.* 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 326. M. 4.

GILBERT gives a brief but useful sketch of the understanding and use of the Bible since the first century A.D.; we need a much larger work on similar lines. NASH tells when and why the historical-critical interpretation of the New Testament became necessary, and how it developed. FARRAR's work covers the same general ground as Gilbert's, but is in the form of lectures with a large rhetorical element, and because it is twenty-five years old it lacks an adequate treatment of the scientific interpretation of the Bible that the last generation has produced. BRIGGS's book is a big one, diffuse, informing, readable, yet far from a satisfactory introduction to the present study of the Bible; it contains no bibliography. MOULTON's book is an indispensable aid in acquiring the literary spirit and point of view for reading the Bible. IMMER and TERRY furnish manuals of the principles of New Testament interpretation; their works are useful as textbooks or for general reading, but the twenty years since their publication have prepared the way for a very different kind of book on this subject. WEISS and FIEBIG show how the field of New Testament study is now viewed and treated. SCOTT furnishes some lectures that deal well with certain general problems of New Testament interpretation. SELLECK argues effectively that the historical interpretation of the Bible makes the Bible still more interesting and useful to us. The works by SANDAY, ROBINSON, and CLARKE are highly valuable as leading the way from the traditional doctrines of inspiration and revelation to the historical point of view and method of handling the Bible. DODS, PEAKE, and the CAMBRIDGE ESSAYS wish to represent the historical attitude toward, and conception of, the Bible, but the result is very conservative—a modified traditionalism. CARPENTER and PICTON are more logical and thoroughgoing in their adoption of the historical standpoint and in their assignment of the Bible to its original place and function as the literature of a particular period and people. The books of SCHWEITZER and WEINEL (see also under the head of "The Life of Jesus") show how variously the New Testament scholars of the nineteenth century understood Jesus, in their not wholly successful efforts to apply to the Gospels the principles of historical interpretation. The most important task of the twentieth century, as regards New Testament interpretation, is to work out and establish the fundamental historical viewpoint for these first-century writings, distinguishing their historical nature, meaning, and function from the moral-religious value which they may have for the present era.

## 2. COMMENTARIES ON THE ENTIRE NEW TESTAMENT

**The International Critical Commentary.** Various British and American authors. Edited by C. A. Briggs, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer. New York: Scribner, 1895-. Probably 18 vols. when complete.

Seven volumes already published, named below in connection with the several New Testament books.

**Der kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von H. A. W. Meyer.** Various German authors. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1897-1910. 16 vols. Set in half leather binding, M. 97.50.

Volumes named below, in connection with the several New Testament books.

**Der Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.** Bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, W. Bauer. Bde. I, IV, 3 Aufl.; Bde. II, III, 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1892. 4 vols. Pp. 2,135. M. 40.

Volumes named below, in connection with the several New Testament books.

**Der Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.** Herausgegeben von Theodor Zahn, unter Mitwirkung von Ph. Bachmann, P. Ewald, J. Haussleiter, E. Riggenbach, R. Seeberg, G. Wohlenberg. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905-.

Ten volumes already published, named below in connection with the several New Testament books.

**Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.** Neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt. Herausgegeben von Johannes Weiss. 2. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1907-8. 2 vols. Pp. 1,661. M. 19.60.

**The Expositor's Greek Testament.** Various British Authors. Edited by W. R. Nicoll. New York: Dodd, 1897-1910. 5 vols. \$7.50 a vol. Set, \$20.

Volumes named below, in connection with the several New Testament books.

**Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.** Various British authors. Edited by J. J. S. Perowne, later by J. A. Robinson. New York: Macmillan, 1887-. To be complete in 19 vols. \$0.70 to \$1.50 a vol.

Fourteen volumes already published.

**Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.** Various British authors. New York: Macmillan, 1877-96. New Testament in 19 vols., \$13.40. \$0.40 to \$1.10 a vol.

**The (New-) Century Bible.** Various British authors. Edited by W. F. Adeney. New York: Frowde, 1899-1904. New Testament in 13 vols. \$0.90 a vol.

**The Bible for Home and School.** Various American authors. Edited by Shailer Mathews. New York: Macmillan, 1908-. New Testament in 15 vols. \$0.50 to \$0.90 a vol.

Five volumes already published, named below in connection with the several New Testament books.

**A Commentary on the Bible.** Various British authors. Edited by J. R. Dummelow. Complete in one volume, with general articles and maps. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 1,245. \$2.50.

The most scholarly and useful English Commentary on the entire New Testament is the *INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY*; the volumes are somewhat unequal in scholarship and value, but are among the best in any language. The standard serial commentary in German is the *KRITISCH-EXEGETISCHER KOMMENTAR ÜBER DAS NEUE TESTAMENT*, founded by Meyer; the volumes of this series have passed through many editions and have been from time to time revised or rewritten (little now but the name remains of the original Meyer work). The series has been kept in the hands of first-class conservative scholars. The chief competitor of the Meyer Kommentar has been the *HAND-KOMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT*, written by able scholars of the advanced school, compact in form, and exceedingly valuable. A new serial commentary edited by Zahn, *DER KOMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT*, is rapidly being issued; it is representative of the Zahn type of rigid conservatism, much nearer the traditional point of view and method than the Meyer Kommentar. *DIE SCHRIFTEN DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS*, by J. Weiss, Jülicher, Bousset, and others of the best advanced scholars of Germany, gives a valuable introduction to all the books of the New Testament, a new translation, and a concise practical interpretation. The *EXPOSITOR'S GREEK TESTAMENT* furnishes a series of commentaries on all the New Testament books, conservative, well written, and scholarly. The *CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT*, the *CAMBRIDGE BIBLE*, the *(NEW-) CENTURY BIBLE*, and *THE BIBLE FOR HOME AND SCHOOL* are series of small commentaries for the non-professional Bible student; the volumes are uneven in workmanship, but many of them are good for introductory study. *DUMMELOW* has produced a composite, single-volume commentary on the whole Bible that seems to find



some favor, probably because one gets so much bulk for so small a price. Practically, the volume is too big to carry or to use, and the contents are too brief on any particular book to give satisfaction. The several series of small commentaries, though costing more, are much to be preferred.

### 3. COMMENTARIES ON THE SEPARATE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

#### MATTHEW

(On the Synoptic Gospels see also above under the head of "The New Testament Writings.")

**Allen, W. C.** The Gospel according to St. Matthew. *International Critical Commentary*. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 338. \$3.

**Plummer, Alfred.** The Gospel according to St. Matthew. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 451. \$3.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** Das Matthäus-Evangelium. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1898. Pp. 510. M. 8.50.

**Zahn, Theodor.** Das Evangelium des Matthäus. *Zahn Kommentar*. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. 714. M. 16.

**Holtzmann, H. J.** Die Synoptiker und Apostelgeschichte. *Hand-Commentar*. 3 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. 429. M. 9.

**Weiss, Johannes.** Die drei älteren Evangelien. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)

**Wellhausen, J.** Das Evangelium Matthaei. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. Pp. 152. M. 4.

**Loisy, Alfred.** Les évangiles synoptiques; introduction, traduction, commentaire. Paris: Nourry, 1907-8. 2 vols. Pp. 1,832. Fr. 30.

**Montefiore, C. G.** The Synoptic Gospels. Edited, with an Introduction and Commentary. Together with Additional Notes by I. Abrahams. New York: Macmillan, 1909-. Vols. I, II (1909), pp. 1,236. \$10. Vol. III soon to be published.

**Salmon, George.** The Human Element in the Gospels: A Commentary on the Synoptic Narrative. New York: Dutton, 1907. Pp. 574. \$4.50.

**Bruce, A. B.** The Synoptic Gospels. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. New York: Dodd, 1897. (Vol. I includes the Gospel of John.) \$7.50.

ALLEN's Commentary on Matthew is highly useful for all it contains, but it is scarcely a "commentary" in the ordinary sense—rather an introductory study of certain literary and historical phases of the Gospel; it has no general interpretation of the narrative, and no homiletical purpose. PLUMMER produced his work after Allen's in order to supply what Allen's lacked; it is particularly intended to be homiletically full and useful. For general purposes, PLUMMER's Commentary is the best work in English on the Gospel of Matthew, but it is deficient in historical and critical quality. In German, the three first-class commentaries on Matthew are those of B. WEISS, ZAHN, and HOLTZMANN. WEISS's work is moderately conservative, and furnishes perhaps the best single work on the gospel. ZAHN's work is extremely conservative, elaborate, and solid. HOLTZMANN's work is advanced, compact, and strong. All three are needed for a thorough study of Matthew. WEISS's and WELLHAUSEN's Commentaries are sketchy, vigorous, independent, of high importance. LOISY has produced an extensive, radical work upon the Synoptic Gospels to which all scholars must give attention; this reconstruction of our New Testament interpretation is to be refuted where wrong and adopted where right. MONTEFIORE has given an exposition of the Synoptic Gospels to enlighten Jewish readers as to the message and value of Jesus, and to correct non-Jewish interpretation of Jesus; the two big volumes are most welcome. SALMON will be found very suggestive for the popular student, and BRUCE's work is of a similar homiletic value.

## MARK

- Swete, H. B.** The Gospel according to St. Mark. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 554. \$3.75.
- Gould, E. P.** The Gospel according to St. Mark. *International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribner, 1896. Pp. 366. \$2.50.
- Menzies, Allan.** The Earliest Gospel: a Historical Study of the Gospel according to Mark. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 306. \$2.75.
- Bacon, B. W.** The Beginnings of Gospel Story: A Historico-critical Inquiry into the Sources and Structure of the Gospel according to Mark. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1909. Pp. 238. \$2.25. "The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark," in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIX (1910), pp. 41-66.
- Weiss, Johannes.** Die drei älteren Evangelien. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.) Das älteste Evangelium. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 414. M. 11.
- Holtzmann, H. J.** Die Synoptiker. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under MATTHEW.)
- Wellhausen, J.** Das Evangelium Marci. 2 Aufl. Berlin: Reimer, 1909. Pp. 146. M. 4.
- Wohlenberg, G.** Das Evangelium des Markus. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1910. Pp. 402. M. 9.50.
- Weiss, Bernhard.** Das Evangelium des Markus und Lukas. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1901. Pp. 694. M. 9.50.
- Loisy, Alfred.** Les évangiles synoptiques. (See under MATTHEW.)
- Montefiore, C. G.** The Synoptic Gospels. (See under MATTHEW.)
- Salmon, George.** The Human Element in the Gospels. (See under MATTHEW.)
- Bruce, A. B.** The Synoptic Gospels. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under MATTHEW.)
- Lagrange, M.-J.** Evangile selon St. Marc. Paris: Lecoffre, 1911. Pp. 607. Fr. 15.

SWETE, GOULD, and MENZIES furnish an exceedingly strong group of commentaries in English on the Gospel of Mark. SWETE's is probably the best single work on the gospel because of its full introduction, its complete treatment, and its balance in interpretation. GOULD has given an excellent Commentary for general use, but it does not fully represent the present scholarship and method in interpreting the Gospels. MENZIES has restricted his treatment to historical exposition, and is more advanced in criticism than the others. BACON is highly critical, dealing with the fundamental problems of sources, author, purpose, and arrangement; he is foremost in the effort to recover the history behind and around the Gospel of Mark, and whether his results do or do not stand, scholars will appreciate and make use of his work. Germany now has five first-class commentaries on Mark: by J. WEISS in two different forms, by HOLTZMANN and WELLHAUSEN in an advanced criticism, and by WOHLBERG and B. WEISS in a conservative spirit. The works of LOISY, MONTEFIORE, SALMON, and BRUCE have already been characterized under MATTHEW. LAGRANGE's work is just announced; it is elaborate, and is likely to be an important contribution to the interpretation of the Second Gospel.

## LUKE

**Plummer, Alfred.** The Gospel according to St. Luke. *International Critical Commentary*. 4th ed. New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. 675. \$3.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** Das Evangelium des Markus und Lukas. *Meyer Kommentar*. (See under MARK.)

**Weiss, Johannes.** Die drei älteren Evangelien. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)

**Holtzmann, H. J.** Die Synoptiker. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Wellhausen, J.** Das Evangelium Lucae. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. Pp. 142. M. 4.

**Loisy, Alfred.** Les évangiles synoptiques. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Montefiore, C. G.** The Synoptic Gospels. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Salmon, George.** The Human Element in the Gospels. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Bruce, A. B.** The Synoptic Gospels. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Godet, Frederic.** Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. New York: Funk, 1887. Pp. 584. \$3.

PLUMMER has aimed to produce an adequate Commentary on Luke for general use, and it is in fact the best book on the third Gospel in English; nevertheless, a thorough historical and literary criticism is lacking, and the author is hampered by an inflexible theological conservatism. We need in English a first-class commentary on Luke. In German there is a trio of strong works on this Gospel: by B. WEISS, representing the older conservative scholarship, by J. WEISS, representing concisely and vigorously the current advanced criticism, and by HOLTZMANN, representing the advanced criticism of the past generation. WELLHAUSEN comments radically but suggestively upon certain aspects of the Gospel. The works of LOISY, MONTEFIORE, SALMON, and BRUCE have already been characterized under MATTHEW. GODET'S Commentary, first issued forty years ago, is so full of homiletical material and of religious purpose and insight as to be still of general value.

## JOHN

(See also above under the head of "The New Testament Writings.")

**Westcott, B. F.** Commentary on the Gospel of St. John. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes. London: Murray, 1908. 2 vols. Pp. 1,072. 24s.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** Das Johannes-Evangelium. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1902. Pp. 643. M. 9.50.

**Zahn, Theodor.** Das Evangelium des Johannes. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. Pp. 720. M. 16.

**Heitmüller, W.** Das Johannes-Evangelium. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)

**Holtzmann, H. J.** Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes. 3 Aufl., besorgt von W. Bauer. *Hand-Commentar*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 517. M. 11.

**Wellhausen, J.** *Das Evangelium Johannis.* Berlin: Reimer, 1908. Pp. 146. M. 4.

**Godet, Frederic.** *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John.* New York: Funk, 1886-90. 2 vols. Pp. 1,130. \$6.

*Commentaire sur l'évangile de Saint Jean.* 4. éd. Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères, 1902-3. 2 vols. Pp. 879. Fr. 12.50.

**Dods, Marcus.** *The Gospel of St. John. Expositor's Greek Testament.* New York: Dodd, 1897. (See under MATTHEW.)

**Goebel, Siegfried.** *Die Reden unseres Herrn nach Johannes.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1906-10. 2 vols. Pp. 1,033. M. 17.

This new posthumous edition of WESTCOTT's Commentary on John gives us his great work in a final form, superseding—at least for scholarly use—the volume of the Bible Commentary with which we have long been familiar. WESTCOTT's book is by no means an up-to-date commentary on the Fourth Gospel, written with reference to the whole historical investigation of the book; it makes certain minor concessions to criticism, but is fundamentally traditional. The German commentaries by WEISS and ZAHN represent about the same type of able, conservative scholarship. HEITMÜLLER's brief but valuable commentary, and HOLTZMANN's older work just revised, deal with the Gospel more critically. WELLHAUSEN presents a radical reconstruction of the prevailing interpretation of the book. GODET and DODS give expositions that are uncritical but still homiletically useful. GOEBEL expounds elaborately, in a traditional way, the discourses of Jesus in the Gospel of John.

#### ACTS

(See also above under the head of "The New Testament Writings.")

**Knowling, R. J.** *The Acts of the Apostles. Expositor's Greek Testament.* New York: Dodd, 1900. (Vol. II includes Romans and First Corinthians.) \$7.50.

**Wendt, H. H.** *Die Apostelgeschichte. Meyer Kommentar.* 8 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1899. Pp. 427. M. 7.50.

**Knopf, Rudolf.** *Die Apostelgeschichte. Schriften des Neuen Testaments.* (See § 2.)

**Holtzmann, H. J.** *Die Apostelgeschichte. Hand-Commentar.* (See under MATTHEW.)

**Blass, Friedrich.** *Acta Apostolorum. Editio philologica, apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1895. Pp. 334. M. 14.

**Rackham, R. B.** *The Acts of the Apostles.* New York: Gorham, 1901. Pp. 631. \$4.50.

**Bartlet, Vernon.** *The Acts. (New-) Century Bible.* New York: Frowde, 1901. Pp. 394. \$0.90.

**Gilbert, G. H.** *The Acts. Bible for Home and School.* New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 267. \$0.75.

Little new work has been done on the Book of Acts during the last five years. The studies by HARNACK have been noted (under the head of the "Apostolic Age"). The former commentaries on Acts have not even been revised. KNOWLING's Commentary on Acts is admirable in method, thorough in scholar-

ship, well-balanced in interpretation, leaving little to be desired from a strongly conservative standpoint. WENDT's work is the chief German Commentary on Acts, and quite the equal of Knowling's, with a freer handling of the critical problems. The one new commentary to be mentioned is by KNOPF in the serial work edited by J. WEISS; it is fresh, critical, able, and useful. HOLTZMANN's work is advanced, scholarly, and brief. BLASS presents (and favors) the "Western" readings in Acts, with critical apparatus, and a brief running commentary. RACKHAM's Commentary is on the basis of the English text and intended chiefly for homiletic use, but is superior to most works of this class by reason of its method, its scholarship, and its excellent historical interpretation. BARTLET's is the best small commentary on Acts, based on the English text. GILBERT has produced an excellent little popular exposition.

## ROMANS

**Sanday, W., and Headlam, A. C.** The Epistle to the Romans. *International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribner, 1895. Pp. 562. \$3.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** Der Brief an die Römer. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1899. Pp. 617. M. 9.50.

**Zahn, Theodor.** Der Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Römer. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1910. Pp. 622. M. 14.

**Jülicher, Adolf.** Der Brief an die Römer. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)

**Lipsius, R. A.** Die Briefe an die Galater, Römer, Philipper. *Hand-Commentar*. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1893. (Vol. II includes the Thessalonian and Corinthian Epistles, by Schmiedel.) M. 12.

**Spitta, Friedrich.** Untersuchungen über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1901. Pp. 193. M. 5.

**Feine, P.** Der Römerbrief. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 159. M. 5.

**Gifford, E. H.** Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. New York: Scribner, 1892. Pp. 238. \$3.

**Denney, James.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under ACTS.)

**Godet, Frederic.** Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. New York: Funk, 1883. Pp. 545. \$3.

Commentaire sur l'épître aux Romains. 2. éd. Paris: Delachaux, 1883-90. 2 vols. Pp. 1,194. Fr. 17.50.

The SANDAY-HEADLAM Commentary on Romans is unquestionably the best single work on the interpretation of this epistle, written from a conservative standpoint. The best German works on Romans that occupy a similar critical position are by B. WEISS and ZAHN; while JÜLICHER's new Commentary in the J. WEISS serial work, and LIPSIIUS' Commentary (now eighteen years old) represent the more advanced scholarship. SPITTA and FEINE have produced valuable works on certain phases of the Roman Epistle. GIFFORD's Commentary is old and brief, but exhibits a keen insight into the thought of the apostle. DENNEY's interest is chiefly theological, his point of view is somewhat narrow, and his position almost traditional; nevertheless, his work deserves attention. GODET's Commentary has homiletic value.

## FIRST AND SECOND CORINTHIANS

**Findlay, G. G.** St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under ACTS.)

- Bernard, J. H.** St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. New York: Dodd, 1903. (Vol. III includes Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians.) \$7.50.
- Edwards, T. C.** Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. 3d ed. New York: Doran, 1897. Pp. 532. \$2.50.
- Weiss, Johannes.** Der erste Korintherbrief. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1910. Pp. 536. M. 10.60.
- Heinrici, C. F. G.** Der zweite Brief an die Korinther. *Meyer Kommentar*. 8 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1900. Pp. 463. M. 7.70.
- Bousset, W.** Die Briefe an die Korinther. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)
- Bachmann, Philipp.** Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. 482. M. 9. Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1909. Pp. 425. M. 9.70.
- Schmiedel, P. W.** Die Briefe an die Korinther. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under ROMANS.)
- Heinrici, C. F. G.** Das erste Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Korinther. Berlin: Herz, 1880. Pp. 574. M. 10. Das zweite Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Korinther. Berlin: Herz, 1887. Pp. 606. M. 10.
- Godet, Frederic.** Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. New York: Scribner, 1886-87. 2 vols. Pp. 921. \$6.
- Massie, John.** Corinthians. (*New-) Century Bible*. New York: Frowde, 1902. Pp. 339. \$0.90.
- Lütgert, W.** Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. Pp. 157. M. 3.

First Corinthians has received the chief attention of commentators, Second Corinthians being neglected both in itself and in its relation to the First Epistle. We need a commentary that will present in a unified way the whole course and content of Paul's correspondence with the Corinthian church (so far as recoverable). The *Expositor's Greek Testament* has I Corinthians by FINDLAY, and II Corinthians by BERNARD, the two scholars working independently; the former commentary is the best we have in English on this letter of St. Paul's, while the latter is much inferior. EDWARDS' Commentary, which for a generation has held the first place, is still valuable. The new Meyer Commentary on I Corinthians, by J. WEISS, is of the highest value. HEINRICI on II Corinthians in the same series, and BOUSSET's new, brief, vigorous work in the J. Weiss serial commentary, present the best work of the more advanced scholarship. BACHMANN's Commentaries on the two Epistles in the Zahn series make a highly valuable contribution to the study of Paul's letters; they are conservative, full, and usable. The works by SCHMIEDEL and HEINRICI, though a generation old, still belong to the primary literature on the Corinthian epistles. GODET's large Commentary on I Corinthians, also an older work, continues to have secondary value. The small Commentary by MASSIE handles the two letters together in the right way, and is quite the best for popular use. LÜTGERT provides a useful monograph.

#### GALATIANS

- Lightfoot, J. B.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. 11th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 384. \$3.25.

- Sieffert, F. A. E.** Der Brief an die Galater. *Meyer Kommentar*. 9 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1899. Pp. 366. M. 6.50.
- Zahn, Theodor.** Der Brief an die Galater. *Zahn Kommentar*. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Deichert, 1907. Pp. 299. M. 6.50.
- Lipsius, R. A.** Der Brief an die Galater. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under ROMANS.)
- Bousset, W.** Der Galaterbrief. *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. (See § 2.)
- Bacon, B. W.** Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. *Bible for Home and School*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 135. \$0.50.
- Ramsay, W. M.** Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. New York: Putnam, 1900. Pp. 478. \$3.
- Rendall, Frederick.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under CORINTHIANS.)
- Weber, V.** Der Galaterbrief aus sich selbst geschichtlich erklärt. Ravensburg: Kitz, 1901. Pp. 145. M. 1.80.
- Steinmann, A.** Die Leserkreise des Galaterbrief. Münster: Aschendorff, 1908. Pp. 251. M. 6.80.

There are at least four first-class commentaries on Galatians—those by LIGHTFOOT, SIEFFERT, ZAHN, and LIPSIVS. LIGHTFOOT's Commentary, issued in 1865 (and never revised), is deservedly the standard for English readers, but its historical positions and interpretation need reconstruction in the light of later studies. On critical questions ZAHN is the most conservative; LIPSIVS the most advanced. Together the four works make a most valuable apparatus for the study of Galatians. Of first-class scholarship also, but brief, are the two recent commentaries by BOUSSET and BACON. RAMSAY's work on Galatians deals diffusely and hypothetically with certain phases of the Epistle. RENDALL's serial Commentary, and the monographs by WEBER and STEINMANN, are useful.

## EPHESIANS

- Abbott, T. K.** The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. *International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribner, 1897. Pp. 380. \$2.50.
- Westcott, B. F.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. 280. \$2.50.
- Robinson, J. A.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. New York: Macmillan, 1903. Pp. 314. \$3.
- Haupt, Erich.** Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe. *Meyer Kommentar*. 8 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1902. Pp. 729. M. 10.50.
- Sodeh, Hermann v.** Die Briefe an die Kolosser, Epheser, Philemon; die Pastoralbriefe. Hebräerbrief, Briefe des Petrus, Jakobus, Judas. *Hand-Commentar*. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1893. Pp. 477. M. 10.50.
- Ewald, Paul.** Die Briefe des Paulus an die Epheser, Kolosser, und Philemon. *Zahn Kommentar*. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Deichert, 1910. Pp. 444. M. 10.
- Salmond, S. D. F.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under CORINTHIANS.)

**Alexander, Gross.** Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. *Bible for Home and School*. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 132. \$0.50.

The third group of Paul's Epistles (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon) are well provided for as respects commentaries. ABBOTT on Ephesians and Colossians with VINCENT on Philippians and Philemon, are the excellent volumes of the International Critical Commentary. LIGHTFOOT is the unsurpassed English commentator on three of the four letters; and the absence of a Lightfoot Commentary on Ephesians is supplied by the valuable works of ROBINSON and WESTCOTT (posthumously published). HAUPT and v. SODEN (LIPSIUS for Philippians) are the chief German commentators on this group of Paul's letters, the former conservative, the latter advanced. EWALD contributes the very able and useful commentaries in the Zahn series. The writers on these epistles in the Expositor's Greek Testament (SALMOND for Ephesians, KENNEDY for Philippians, PEAKE for Colossians, and OESTERLEY for Philemon) furnish brief good expositions. ALEXANDER's little Commentary on Colossians and Ephesians will serve an introductory, popular purpose.

#### PHILIPPIANS

**Vincent, M. R.** The Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon. *International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribner, 1897. Pp. 246. \$2.

**Lightfoot, J. B.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. 9th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. 350. \$3.25.

**Haupt, Erich.** Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe. *Meyer Kommentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Ewald, Paul.** Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper. *Zahn Kommentar*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. Pp. 221. M. 4.50.

**Lipsius, R. A.** Der Brief an die Philipper. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under ROMANS.)

**Kennedy, H. A. A.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under CORINTHIANS.)

For annotation see under EPHESIANS.

#### COLOSSIANS

**Abbott, T. K.** The Epistle to the Colossians. *International Critical Commentary*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Lightfoot, J. B.** St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon. 10th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1904. Pp. 428. \$3.25.

**Haupt, Erich.** Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe. *Meyer Kommentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Soden, Hermann v.** Der Brief an die Kolosser. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Ewald, Paul.** Der Brief des Paulus an die Kolosser. *Zahn Kommentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Peake, A. S.** St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under CORINTHIANS.)

**Alexander, Gross.** Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. *Bible for Home and School*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

For annotation see under EPHESIANS.



## FIRST AND SECOND THESSALONIANS

- Milligan, George.** St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 305. \$2.60.
- Dobschütz, Ernst v.** Die Thessalonicher-briefe. *Meyer Kommentar.* 7 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1894. Pp. 320. M. 8.
- Lightfoot, J. B.** Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries (First and Second Thessalonians, pp. 136; also, portions of First Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians). New York: Macmillan, 1895. Pp. 336. \$3.25.
- Schmiedel, P. W.** Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher. *Hand-Commentar.* (See under CORINTHIANS.)
- Wohlenberg, G.** Der erste und zweite Thessalonicher Brief. *Zahn Kommentar.* 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. Pp. 223. M. 6.
- Moffatt, James.** St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. *Expositor's Greek Testament.* New York: Dodd, 1910. (Vol. IV includes 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, James, Hebrews.) \$7.50.
- Findlay, G. G.** The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians. *Cambridge Greek Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1904. Pp. 327. \$1.
- Askwith, E. H.** An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 144. \$1.25.
- Harnack, Adolf.** Das Problem des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefs. Berlin: Reimer, 1910. Pp. 18. M. 1.

We have two new large Commentaries on the Thessalonian Epistles, by first-class scholars—MILLIGAN in Great Britain, and v. DOBSCHÜTZ in Germany; the two works supplement each other, and constitute a capital equipment for the thorough student. The works by LIGHTFOOT and SCHMIEDEL, though older, are by no means superseded. The recent Commentaries by WOHLBERG in the Zahn series, and by MOFFATT in the Expositor's Greek Testament, are also excellent, while FINDLAY's work will still be useful. The monographs by ASKWITH and HARNACK contribute to the study of specific Thessalonian problems.

## FIRST AND SECOND TIMOTHY, TITUS

- White, N. J. D.** St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. *Expositor's Greek Testament.* (See under THESSALONIANS.)
- Bernard, J. H.** Commentary on St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles. *Cambridge Greek Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 270. \$0.90.
- Weiss, Bernhard.** Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus. *Meyer Kommentar.* 7 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1902. Pp. 379. M. 7.30.
- Soden, Hermann v.** Die Pastoralbriefe. *Hand-Commentar.* (See under EPHESIANS.)
- Wohlenberg, G.** Die Pastoralbriefe. *Zahn Kommentar.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1906. Pp. 355. M. 8.30.
- Hesse, F. H.** Die Entstehung der neutestamentlichen Hirtenbriefe. Halle: Kämmerer, 1889. Pp. 340. M. 6.

**Holtzmann, H. J.** Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch und exegetisch behandelt. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1880. Pp. 504. M. 8.

**Ramsay, W. M.** "Historical Commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy," in *The Expositor*, 1909-11.

Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus still await an adequate commentary in English. The smaller works by WHITE and BERNARD serve a useful popular purpose, but do not furnish a thorough critical treatment of all the problems, or give a full scholarly interpretation of the letters. The chief German commentaries are by B. WEISS, who is very conservative; v. SODEN who is advanced, brief, important; and WOHLBERG in the Zahn series who gives a full, able, conservative handling of the problems. HESSE and HOLTZMANN contribute older works of value. RAMSAY's elaborate articles add something to the literature on the Pastoral Epistles.

## PHILEMON

**Vincent, M. R.** The Epistle to Philemon. *International Critical Commentary*. (See under PHILIPPIANS.)

**Lightfoot, J. B.** St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. (See under COLOSSIANS.)

**Haupt, Erich.** Die Gefangenschaftsbrieife. *Meyer Kommentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Soden, Hermann v.** Der Brief an Philemon. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Ewald, Paul.** Der Brief des Paulus an Philemon. *Zahn Kommentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Oesterley, W. O. E.** St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under THESSALONIANS.)

For annotation see under EPHESIANS.

## HEBREWS

**Westcott, B. F.** The Epistle to the Hebrews. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. 590. \$4.

**Weiss, Bernhard.** Der Brief an die Hebräer. *Meyer Kommentar*. 6 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1902. Pp. 371. M. 6.90. Der Hebräerbrief in zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 110. M. 3.50.

**Soden, Hermann v.** Der Hebräerbrief. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)

**Dods, Marcus.** The Epistle to the Hebrews. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under THESSALONIANS.)

**Peake, A. S.** Hebrews. (*New-*) *Century Bible*. New York: Frowde, 1904. Pp. 251. \$0.90.

**Goodspeed, E. J.** The Epistle to the Hebrews. *Bible for Home and School*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 132. \$0.50.

**Wrede, W.** Das literarisches Rätsel des Hebräerbriefs. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1906. Pp. 106. M. 2.60.

- Ménégoz, E.** La théologie de l'épître aux Hébreux. Paris: Fischbacher, 1894. Pp. 298. Fr. 10.
- Bruce, A. B.** The Epistle to the Hebrews. The First Apology for Christianity; an Exegetical Study. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 461. \$2.50.
- Milligan, George.** The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 253. \$2.25.
- Rendall, Frederic.** The Theology of the Hebrew Christians. New York: Macmillan, 1886. Pp. 182. \$2.

The best English commentary on Hebrews is that by WESTCOTT, elaborate, learned, but rather dull, and deficient in certain historical and theological aspects of interpretation. B. WEISS's work is excellent, but fails to furnish an adequate exposition of the letter. v. SODEN is advanced, concise, important. DODS, PEAKE, and GOODSPEED furnish three smaller commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews, the latter two being in more convenient form and with a more recent type of scholarship. WREDE contributes a suggestive monograph. The theology of the epistle is fully treated, from different points of view, by MÉNÉGOZ, BRUCE, MILLIGAN, and RENDALL, of which perhaps the first is the most important.

## JAMES

- Knowling, R. J.** Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. New York: Gorham, 1904. Pp. 160. \$2.50.
- Mayor, J. B.** The Epistle of St. James. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 264. \$4.50.
- Beyschlag, W.** Der Brief des Jacobus. *Meyer Kommentar*. 6 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1898. Pp. 238. M. 3.40.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** Der Brief des Jacobus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1896. Pp. 239. M. 7.
- Soden, Hermann v.** Der Brief des Jakobus. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)
- Weiss, B.** Der Jakobusbrief und die neuere Kritik. Leipzig: Deichert, 1904. Pp. 50. M. 1.
- Hort, F. J. A.** The Epistle of St. James, 1:1—4:7. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 181. \$1.10.
- Oesterley, W. O. E.** The Epistle of St. James. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. (See under THESSALONIANS.)

KNOWLING's Commentary on James is based on the English text, is conservative, compact, and excellent. MAYOR's is elaborate, its chief interest being linguistic; it is indispensable for a thorough study of the epistle. BEYSLAG, SPITTA, and v. SODEN furnish the great German works on the Epistle of James. BEYSLAG's is a general commentary, conservative, full, able, helpful; SPITTA's is a monograph, independent in view, important; v. SODEN's is advanced in its critical position, concise, scholarly. WEISS gives a vigorous defense of the traditional views of the Letter. HORT's posthumous work deals helpfully with the larger portion of the Letter. OESTERLEY gives the most recent Commentary on James, not extensive, but fresh, and deserving of consideration.

## FIRST AND SECOND PETER, JUDE

- Bigg, Charles.** The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. *International Critical Commentary*. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 353. \$2.50.

- Mayor, J. B.** The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 239. \$4.50.
- Kühl, Ernst.** Die Briefe Petri und Judae. *Meyer Kommentar*. 6 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1897. Pp. 463. M. 7.50.
- Soden, Hermann v.** Die Briefe des Petrus und Judas. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under EPHESIANS.)
- Plumptre, E. H.** Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. *Cambridge Bible*. New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. 220. \$0.60.
- Hort, F. J. A.** The First Epistle of St. Peter. 1:1—2:17. New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 188. \$1.75.
- Hart, J. H. A., Strachan, R. H., and Mayor, J. B.** The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. *Expositor's Greek Testament*. New York: Dodd, 1910. (Vol. V includes the Epistles of John and Revelation.) \$7.50.
- Chase, F. H.** Art. "Peter, Epistles of," in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, III (1901), 779-818.
- Johnstone, Robert.** The First Epistle of Peter. New York: Scribner, 1888. Pp. 417. \$2.
- Spitta, Friedrich.** Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1885. Pp. 544. M. 9.
- Weiss, B.** Der ersten Petrusbrief und die neuere Kritik. Gr.-Lichterfelde: Runge, 1906. Pp. 66. M. 0.60.

BIGG'S Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude is conservative, elaborate, and scholarly, but somewhat plodding in its method and irresponsible to the critical hypotheses. MAYOR'S work also is conservative, but deals more with literary features and grammatical interpretation than with the critical problems of the Letters. KÜHL'S Commentary is the chief German work, conservative, giving the letters the fullest treatment. V. SODEN'S is advanced, concise, important. PLUMPTRE'S is an excellent little commentary on traditional lines. HORT'S fragment of a commentary is valuable. The serial exposition by HART, STRACHAN, and MAYOR is helpful. CHASE furnishes a most useful encyclopedic article on the Epistles of Peter, moderately conservative. JOHNSTONE'S Commentary is heavy and homiletical, but deserves attention. SPITTA'S monograph is fresh and important. WEISS writes to defend strenuously the apostolic authorship and early date.

#### FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD JOHN

- Westcott, B. F.** The Epistles of St. John. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. 518. \$3.50.
- Weiss, Bernhard.** Die drei Briefe des Apostel Johannes. *Meyer Kommentar*. 6 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1900. Pp. 195. M. 3.40.
- Holtzmann, H. J.** Die johanneische Briefe. *Hand-Commentar*. (See under JOHN.)
- Haupt, Erich.** The First Epistle of St. John. New York: Scribner, 1893. Pp. 385. \$2.25.
- Plummer, Alfred.** The Epistles of St. John. *Cambridge Greek Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1886. Pp. 204. \$1.

**Smith, David.** The Epistles of St. John. *Expositor's Greek Testament.* (See under the EPISTLES OF PETER.)

**Findlay, G. G.** Fellowship in the Life Eternal: An Exposition of the Epistles of St. John. New York: Doran, 1909. Pp. 446. \$2.50.

WESTCOTT furnishes an exhaustive scholarly interpretation of the Johannine letters, but without entering far into the critical problems concerning them. WEISS in half the space has found room for a larger treatment. HOLTZMANN is advanced, concise, important. HAUPT's elaborate commentary on the First Epistle of John is of value chiefly for homiletic use. PLUMMER's small commentary is good. SMITH has written the latest commentary on the Johannine Epistles, with scholarship and appreciation. FINDLAY's elaborate exposition is excellent as bringing out the religious qualities and values.

#### REVELATION

**Swete, H. B.** The Apocalypse of St. John. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 558. \$3.50.

**Porter, F. C.** Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers. *Messages of the Bible.* New York: Scribner, 1905. Pp. 367. \$1.25. "Revelation, Book of," in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, IV (1902), 239-66.

**Bousset, Wilhelm.** Die Offenbarung Johannis. *Meyer Kommentar.* 6 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1906. Pp. 468. M. 9.60. "Apocalypse" in Encyclopedia Biblica, I (1899), cols. 194-212.

**Holtzmann, H. J.** Die Offenbarung des Johannes. *Hand-Commentar.* (See under JOHN.)

**Weiss, Johannes.** Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1904. Pp. 164. M. 4.80. Also, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments.* (See under COMMENTARIES ON THE ENTIRE NEW TESTAMENT.)

**Spitta, Friedrich.** Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1889. Pp. 587. M. 12.

**Wellhausen, J.** Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis. Berlin: Weidmann, 1908. Pp. 34. M. 2.

**Scott, C. A.** The Book of Revelation. (*New-*) *Century Bible.* New York: Frowde, 1902. Pp. 308. \$0.90.

**Moffatt, James.** The Book of Revelation. *Expositor's Greek Testament.* (See under the EPISTLES OF PETER.)

**Ramsay, W. M.** The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia: Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse. New York: Doran, 1905. Pp. 466. \$3.

**Hort, F. J. A.** The Apocalypse of St. John, chaps. 1-3. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 92. \$1.

SWETE has produced a massive work on the Johannine Apocalypse that is indispensable to the student of this book; yet it lacks somewhat in historical method, failing to put the New Testament book into complete relation with the other literature of its kind. PORTER's two contributions, though comparatively small, supplement the large Commentary of Swete by supplying this fundamental element. BOUSSET has produced the standard interpretation of the Apocalypse in the Meyer series; his article in the Encyclopedia Biblica is not so recent, but is still one of the best treatments of the book in English. HOLTZMANN, J. WEISS, and SPITTA occupy a similar ground of interpretation, and their works greatly strengthen the newer literature on Revelation. WELLHAUSEN's study of the structure of the book deserves consideration.

SCOTT's and MOFFATT's smaller commentaries add much to the scanty equipment in English—scanty, not because there are few books in English on the Apocalypse, but because only the most recent of these give a straight historical interpretation of the book, with due regard to its literary characteristics and relations. RAMSAY and HORT deal helpfully with the first portion of the book.

## V. TEACHING

### 1. THE TEACHING OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND OF JESUS

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Life of Jesus" and "Commentaries" on the Synoptic Gospels.)

- Wendt, H. H. *The Teaching of Jesus*. New York: Scribner, 1892. 2 vols. Pp. 835. \$5.  
*Die Lehre Jesu*. 2 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1901. Pp. 640. M. 12.
- Stevens, G. B. *Theology of the New Testament*. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 617. \$2.50. *The Teaching of Jesus*. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 190. \$1.
- Holtzmann, H. J. *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1897. 2 vols. Pp. 1,035. M. 25. (New edition soon to be published, edited by A. Jülicher and W. Bauer.)
- Pfleiderer, Otto. *Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections*. New York: Putnam, 1906-10. 3 vols. Pp. 1,456. \$9. (Vol. IV soon to be published.) *Christian Origins*. New York: Huebsch, 1906. Pp. 295. \$1.75.
- Wernle, Paul. *The Beginnings of Christianity*. New York: Putnam, 1903-4. 2 vols. Pp. 779. \$5.  
*Die Anfänge unserer Religion*. 2 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Pp. 514. M. 7.
- Wellhausen, J., Jülicher, A., *et al.* *Geschichte der christlichen Religion. Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (Teil I, Abth. I, Num. 1). 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. 802. M. 20.
- Feine, Paul. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 721. M. 14.50.
- Schlatter, A. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Stuttgart: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1909-10. 2 vols. Pp. 1,184. M. 20.
- Weiss, Bernhard. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*. New York: Scribner, 1888-89. 2 vols. Pp. 939. \$4.50.  
*Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 6 Aufl. Berlin: Besser, 1895. Pp. 682. M. 12.50.
- Beyschlag, W. *New Testament Theology*. New York: Scribner, 1895. 2 vols. Pp. 1,036. \$6.  
*Neutestamentliche Theologie*. 2 Aufl. Halle: Strien, 1896. 2 vols. Pp. 1,008. M. 18.
- Bovon, Jules. *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*. Lausanne: Bridel, 1893-94. 2 vols. Pp. 1,153. Fr. 20.

- Harnack, Adolf.** What Is Christianity? 2d ed. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 322. \$1.50.  
 Das Wesen des Christentums. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. 205. M. 2.
- Bruce, A. B.** The Kingdom of God. New York: Scribner, 1893. Pp. 361. \$2.  
 The Training of the Twelve. 4th ed. New York: Doran, 1902. Pp. 552. \$2.50.
- Gould, E. P.** Biblical Theology of the New Testament. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 220. \$1.
- Cone, Orello.** The Gospel and Its Earliest Interpretations. 2d ed. New York: Putnam, 1894. Pp. 413. \$1.75.
- Gilbert, G. H.** The Revelation of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 375. \$1.25.
- Toy, C. H.** Judaism and Christianity: A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament. Boston: Little, 1892. Pp. 456. \$3.
- Knox, G. W.** The Gospel of Jesus. Boston: Houghton, 1909. Pp. 139. \$0.50.
- Montefiore, C. G.** Some Elements in the Religious Teachings of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 184. \$0.75.
- Burton, E. D., Smith, J. M. P., and Smith, G. B.** Biblical Ideas of Atonement. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 335. \$1.

## THE ETHICAL TEACHING

- Tholuck, A.** Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. New York: Scribner, 1860. Pp. 443. \$2.25.  
 Die Bergrede Christi. 5 Aufl. Gotha: Perthes, 1872. Pp. 484. M. 8.
- Votaw, C. W.** "The Sermon on the Mount" in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, V (1904), 1-45.
- Achelis, Ernst.** Die Bergpredigt. Leipzig: Velhasen, 1875. Pp. 492. M. 8.
- Gore, Charles.** The Sermon on the Mount. London: Murray, 1896. Pp. 218. 3s. 6d.
- Lyttleton, E. H.** Studies in the Sermon on the Mount. New York: Longmans, 1905. Pp. 392. \$3.50.
- Briggs, C. A.** The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. 293. \$1.50.
- King, H. C.** The Ethics of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 293. \$1.50.
- Stalker, James.** The Ethic of Jesus. New York: Doran, 1909. Pp. 403. \$1.75.

- Cone, Orello.** Rich and Poor in the New Testament: A Study of the Primitive Christian Doctrine of Earthly Possessions. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 245. \$1.50.
- Mathews, Shailer.** The Social Teaching of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 235. \$1.50. (Edition by Doran, New York, \$0.50.)
- Peabody, F. G.** Jesus Christ and the Social Question. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 374. \$1.50. Jesus Christ and the Christian Character. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 304. \$1.50. (Edition by Doran, New York, \$0.50.)
- Hughes, H. M.** The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature. London: Cully, 1909. Pp. 340. 5s.
- Bischoff, Erich.** Jesus und die Rabbinen: Jesu Bergpredigt und Himmelreich in ihrer Unabhängigkeit vom Rabbinismus. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 114. M. 3.
- Hermann, W.** Faith and Morals. New York: Putnam, 1904. Pp. 415. \$1.50. Die sittlichen Weisungen Jesu: Ihr Missbrauch und ihr richtiger Gebrauch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1904. Pp. 66. M. 1.
- Hall, T. C.** The History of Ethics within Organized Christianity. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 605. \$3.
- Paulsen, Fr.** A System of Ethics. New York: Scribner, 1899. Pp. 723. \$3. (Especially Bk. I, chap. 2.)

## THE PARABLES

- Jülicher, Adolf.** Die Gleichnisreden Jesu. (Teil I, 2 Aufl.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 989. M. 24.
- Bruce, A. B.** The Parabolic Teaching of Christ. New York: Doran, 1892. Pp. 515. \$2.50.
- Dods, Marcus.** The Parables of Our Lord. New York: Whittaker, 1895. Pp. 433. \$1.50.
- Goebel, Siegfried.** The Parables of Jesus. New York: Scribner, 1884. Pp. 460. \$2.25.
- Bugge, C. A.** Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1903. Pp. 502. M. 11.
- Trench, R. C.** Notes on the Parables of Our Lord. New York: Appleton, 1887. Pp. 500. \$1.50.
- Weinel, H.** Die Gleichnisse Jesu. 2 Aufl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. Pp. 130. M. 1.
- Fiebig, P.** Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. Pp. 167. M. 3.

WENDT and STEVENS make but slight distinction between the Teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and the Teaching of Jesus. WENDT's is the best large work on this subject for general use; STEVENS' little volume is an excellent introduction to the study. STEVENS' Theology of the New Testament is somewhat



fuller on the Teaching of Jesus, and deals also with the teaching of the remainder of the New Testament. HOLTZMANN'S work, in the new edition, will continue to be a standard interpretation of advanced scholarship. PFLEIDERER is the best representative of the thoroughgoing historical interpretation of the New Testament, and is seen at his best in the English translation of his main work. WERNLE belongs to the same radical school of criticism; his work is more sketchy and less balanced, but of high value. The encyclopedic treatment by WELLHAUSEN, JÜLICHER, *et al.*, belongs also to the advanced type of interpretation. FEINE, SCHLATTER, WEISS, BEYSCHLAG, and BOVON deal with the New Testament teaching in a conservative way; WEISS'S work, first published in 1868, and now in its sixth edition, has been the chief influence in building up the discipline of Biblical Theology. FEINE'S recent volume is perhaps the best exponent now of the conservative interpretation. HARNACK'S renowned Lectures have done much to popularize a moderate pragmatizing conservatism in the treatment of the New Testament teaching. The older and smaller books by BRUCE, GOULD, CONE, GILBERT, and TOY have each their merits and are still helpful. The recent books by KNOX, MONTEFIORE, and BURTON, *et al.*, deal concisely and usefully with certain aspects of the subject.

A small beginning has at last been made in the differentiation of New Testament ethical teaching from New Testament theology, and the presentation of the former in its full and clear sense. This advance movement in interpretation naturally gives first attention to the Sermon on the Mount, which contains a kind of digest of the ethical teaching of Jesus. THOLUCK produced a Commentary on the Sermon in 1833 that for forty years stood alone, for nearly eighty years has been a classic, and is still a great influence notwithstanding its critical defects and theological conservatism. VOTAW seeks to give a general concise introduction and exposition. ACHELIS' large work is excellent; it has not received the attention and use it deserves. GORE'S little volume is widely useful for popular reading. LYTLETON has made a considerable contribution to the study of the Sermon, but criticism, strength, and practical quality are lacking. BRIGGS, KING, and STALKER have produced recent and useful discussions of Jesus' ethical teaching, but none of them makes a satisfactory textbook on the subject. CONE, MATHEWS, and PEABODY furnish excellent homiletic treatments of the social bearings of the teaching of Jesus. HUGHES and BISCHOFF throw some light upon the relation of Jesus' teaching to the ethics of his day. HERMANN, HALL, and PAULSEN offer some help toward a criticism and revaluation of Jesus' ethical teaching for the purposes of modern ethics.

For the interpretation of Jesus' parables the chief work is by JÜLICHER; it is complete, exhaustive, scholarly, and most valuable for all uses. It is unfortunate that we have no English translation. The volume by BRUCE is the best work in English, but deficient in many respects. DOD'S little popular exposition is helpful. GORBEL'S and BUGGE'S large works are replete with exegesis, but lack breadth, vigor, and practical quality. TRENCHE'S old work, written seventy years ago, still finds favor. We should have a new book in English on Jesus' parables that would antiquate all of these but Jülicher's. WEINEL and FRIEBIG have made excellent contributions toward a better work of this kind.

## 2. THE TEACHING OF PAUL

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Life of Paul," "The Apostolic Age," and "Commentaries" on the Epistles of Paul.)

**Stevens, G. B.** *Theology of the New Testament.* (See § 1.) The Pauline Theology. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 383. \$0.90.

**Holtzmann, H. J.** *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie.* (See § 1.)

**Pfleiderer, Otto.** *Primitive Christianity.* Christian Origins. (See § 1.)

**Wernle, Paul.** *The Beginnings of Christianity.* (See § 1.)

**Wellhausen, J., Jülicher, A., et al.** *Geschichte der christlichen Religion.* (See § 1.)

**Feine, Paul.** *Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* (See § 1.)

**Schlatter, A.** *Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* (See § 1.)

**Weiss, Bernhard.** *Biblical Theology of the New Testament.* (See § 1.)

**Beyschlag, W.** *New Testament Theology.* (See § 1.)

**Bovon, Jules.** *Théologie du Nouveau Testament.* (See § 1.)

**Harnack, Adolf.** *What Is Christianity?* (See § 1.)

- Bruce, A. B.** *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity.* New York: Scribner, 1898. Pp. 404. \$0.90.
- Gould, E. P.** *Biblical Theology of the New Testament.* (See § 1.)
- Gilbert, G. H.** *The First Interpreters of Jesus.* New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 429. \$1.25.
- Sabatier, Auguste.** *The Apostle Paul: a Sketch of the Development of His Doctrine.* 7th ed. New York: Doran, 1908. Pp. 402. \$1.50.  
L'apôtre Paul, esquisse d'une histoire de sa pensée. 3. éd. Paris: Fischbacher, 1896. Pp. 453. Fr. 8.
- Weinel, H.** *St. Paul: The Man and His Work.* New York: Putnam, 1906. Pp. 399. \$2.50.
- Wrede, W.** *Paul.* London: Green, 1907. Pp. 182. 2s.
- Moffatt, James.** *Paul and Paulinism.* Boston: Houghton, 1910. Pp. 75. \$0.50.
- Cone, Orello.** *Paul: The Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher.* New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 475. \$2.
- Holsten, Carl.** *Das Evangelium des Paulus.* Berlin: Reimer, 1898. Pp. 199. M. 5.
- Sokolowski, E.** *Geist und Leben bei Paulus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 284. M. 7.
- Simon, Theodor.** *Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1897. Pp. 124. M. 2.80.
- Dibelius, Martin.** *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1909. Pp. 250. M. 7.
- Thackeray, H. St. J.** *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought.* New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 260. \$1.75.
- Alexander, A. B. D.** *The Ethics of St. Paul.* Glasgow: Maclehose, 1910. Pp. 401. 6s.

## THE RELATION OF PAUL TO JESUS

(In addition to the books above named.)

- Weiss, Johannes.** *Paul and Jesus.* New York: Harper, 1909. Pp. 131. \$0.75.
- Jülicher, Adolf.** *Paulus und Jesus.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 72. M. 0.75.
- Meyer, Arnold.** *Jesus or Paul?* New York: Harper, 1909. Pp. 150. \$0.75.
- Wustmann, G.** *Jesus und Paulus.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. Pp. 84. M. 0.60.
- Kaftan, J.** *Jesus und Paulus.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 78. M. 0.80.
- Koelbing, P.** *Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesus auf Paulus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1906. Pp. 114. M. 2.80.

- Feine, Paul.** *Jesus Christus und Paulus.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 309. M. 6.
- Goguel, Maurice.** *L'apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ.* Paris: Fischbacher, 1904. Pp. 393. Fr. 10.
- Resch, Alfred.** *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Pp. 656. M. 20.

The source material for the Teaching of Paul is so abundant in his epistles, and so immediate, that we find large attention given to Paul's teaching and many books to expound it. The main portion of each great work on the Theology of the New Testament sets forth systematically and at great length the Apostle's doctrine. A sufficient characterization has already been made (see § 1) of these works by STEVENS, HOLTZMANN, PFLEIDERER, WERNLE, WELLHAUSEN, *et al.*, FEINE, SCHLATTER, WEISS, BEYSLAG, BOVON, HARNACK, BRUCE, GOULD, and GLBERT. The book by SABATIER has been a favorite for a generation, but it is by no means a satisfactory exposition. WEINEL has produced a popular book on new lines that is most helpful for bringing the student into acquaintance with the actual Paul; a comparison of this book with SABATIER's will show the superiority of the best historical interpretation now being produced. WREDE gives the most radical handling to Pauline problems, and his views require careful consideration. MOFFATT furnishes a brief, good sketch. CONE's work is like that of HOLTZMANN and PFLEIDERER, a solid contribution to the most competent interpretation of Paul. HOLSTEN's older book is not to be wholly lost sight of. Excellent monographs on special phases of Paul's thought are furnished by SOKOLOWSKI, SIMON, DIBELIUS, and THACKERAY. The treatment of Paul's ethical teaching by ALEXANDER undertakes a most important new task, but does not get far toward accomplishing it.

The past five years have seen a thorough, vigorous, and effective discussion of the relation of Paul to Jesus in the establishment of Christianity. Many special treatises on this subject have been produced, from which nine are here named as representative. Those by J. WEISS, JÜLICHER, and MEYER indicate the position of advanced scholarship, that Paul was to a great degree creative and independent; the remaining treatises look upon Paul as more dependent on Jesus and as giving a derived message. The discussion is illuminating for the whole Apostolic Age because it deals with fundamental problems in the origin of the Christian movement.

### 3. THE JOHANNINE TEACHING

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Life of Jesus," "The Apostolic Age," "The Gospel of John," and "Commentaries" on the Gospel of John.)

- Scott, E. F.** *The Fourth Gospel: Its Theology and Purpose.* 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 379. \$2.
- Stevens, G. B.** *Theology of the New Testament.* (See § 1.) *The Johannine Theology.* New York: Scribner, 1894. Pp. 387. \$2.
- Holtzmann, H. J.** *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie.* (See § 1.)
- Pfleiderer, Otto.** *Primitive Christianity. Christian Origins.* (See § 1.)
- Wernle, Paul.** *The Beginnings of Christianity.* (See § 1.)
- Wellhausen, J., Jülicher, A., et al.** *Geschichte der christlichen Religion.* (See § 1.)
- Feine, Paul.** *Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* (See § 1.)
- Schlatter, A.** *Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* (See § 1.)
- Weiss, Bernhard.** *Biblical Theology of the New Testament.* (See § 1.)
- Beyslag, W.** *New Testament Theology.* (See § 1.)
- Bovon, Jules.** *Théologie du Nouveau Testament.* (See § 1.)
- Harnack, Adolf.** *What is Christianity?* (See § 1.)

**Gould, E. P.** Biblical Theology of the New Testament. (See § 1.)

**Gilbert, G. H.** The First Interpreters of Jesus. (See § 2.)

For the interpretation of the Johannine Theology we have but one important volume in addition to the massive books already characterized (see § 1) dealing with the whole New Testament teaching. Perhaps the unsettled critical problems of the Johannine writings discourage attempts to interpret their theology; then, too, the Commentaries on John are largely engaged with the doctrine of the book. SCOTT has produced a most excellent exposition of the Johannine teaching, from the point of view of advanced scholarship; it is lucid, thorough, well-proportioned, forceful.

#### 4. THE TEACHING IN THE OTHER BOOKS

The works which treat specifically of the New Testament Teaching are almost wholly concerned with the *theology* in these writings. In them there are three main types of theological thought—the Synoptic, the Pauline, and the Johannine (following the present arrangement rather than the chronological consecution of the books). The remaining New Testament books, namely, Acts, James, I Peter (II Peter, Jude), and Revelation, do not *present* additional types of theology, but in a fragmentary way *reflect* current types.

The theology of Acts is deutero-Pauline; it may be possible by a critical process to recover from the earlier chapters some elements of the pre-Pauline teaching (see the "New Testament Theologies" by STEVENS, FEINE, WEISS, HOLTZMANN, *et al.*). The Epistle to the Hebrews is also deutero-Pauline in doctrine, with an Alexandrian allegorizing element (see the "New Testament Theologies," and the special treatises under "Commentaries" on Hebrews). The Epistle of James has but a slight theological element, since it arose after the primary wave of Christian theology had subsided. First Peter is deutero-Pauline. The Book of Revelation reflects the Johannine type of theology, but with a highly specialized eschatological element.

For the religious and ethical teaching of these books see the Commentaries upon them (under Div. IV).

#### 5. ESCHATOLOGY, MESSIANISM, AND CHRISTOLOGY

(In addition to the books named under the heads of "The Teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and Jesus," "The Teaching of Paul," and "The Johannine Teaching.")

##### ESCHATOLOGY AND MESSIANISM

**Charles, R. H.** A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity; or, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from Pre-Prophetic Times till the Close of the New Testament Canon. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 428. \$5.

**Mathews, Shailer.** The Messianic Hope in the New Testament. Chicago: University Press, 1905. Pp. 338. \$2.50.

**Dobschütz, Ernst v.** The Eschatology of the Gospels. New York: Doran, 1910. Pp. 216. \$1.

**Kennedy, H. A. A.** St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things. New York: Doran, 1904. Pp. 370. \$2.25.

**Volz, Paul.** Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba. Tübingen: Mohr, 1903. Pp. 412. M. 7.

**Baldensperger, W.** Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums. 3 Aufl. Strassburg: Heitz, 1903. Pp. 240. M. 5.

**Gressmann, Hugo.** Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1905. Pp. 378. M. 10.

**Knopf, Rudolf.** Die Zukunftshoffnungen des Urchristentums. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 63. M. 0.75.

- Sharman, H. B.** The Teaching of Jesus about the Future, according to the Synoptic Gospels. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 396. \$3.
- Muirhead, L. A.** The Eschatology of Jesus. New York: Doran, 1904. Pp. 224. \$1.75.
- Haupt, Erich.** Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien. Berlin: Reuter, 1895. Pp. 167. M. 3.60.
- Kabisch, R.** Die Eschatologie des Paulus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1893. Pp. 338. M. 8.
- Salmond, S. D. F.** The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. 4th ed. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 565. \$3.
- Lagrange, M. J.** Le Messianisme chez les Juifs (150 avant Jésus-Christ à 200 après Jésus-Christ). Paris: Gabalda, 1908. Pp. 349. Fr. 10.
- Oesterley, W. O. E.** The Evolution of the Messianic Idea. New York: Dutton, 1908. Pp. 292. \$1.25.
- Hart, J. H. A.** The Hope of Catholic Judaism. Oxford: Parker, 1910. Pp. 162. 3s.
- Scott, E. F.** The Kingdom and the Messiah. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. 261. \$1.25.
- Goodspeed, G. S.** Israel's Messianic Hope, to the Time of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 315. \$1.50.
- Riehm, Edward.** Messianic Prophecy. 2d ed. New York: Scribner, 1891. Pp. 348. \$2.25.
- Hühn, Eugen.** Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes. Tübingen: Mohr, 1899. Pp. 179. M. 3.60.

## CHRISTOLOGY

(In addition to the books just named under the head of "Eschatology and Messianism.")

- Granbery, J. C.** An Outline of New Testament Christology. Chicago: University Press, 1909. Pp. 127. \$0.50.
- Weiss, Johannes.** Christ: The Beginnings of Dogma. London: Green, 1911. Pp. 160. 2s. Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes. 2 Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1900. Pp. 214. M. 5. Das älteste Evangelium. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 414. M. 11.
- Holtzmann, H. J.** Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 100. M. 2.60.
- Schürer, Emil.** Das messianische Selbstbewusstsein Jesu Christi. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1903. Pp. 24. M. 0.50.
- Baldensperger, W.** Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit. 2 Aufl. Strassburg: Heitz, 1892. Pp. 291. M. 5.

- Schmiedel, P. W.** *Jesus in Modern Criticism.* New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 91. \$0.20.
- Wrede, W.** *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1901. Pp. 291. M. 9.
- Lietzmann, Hans.** *Der Menschensohn.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1896. Pp. 95. M. 2.
- Schmidt, Nathaniel.** *The Prophet of Nazareth.* New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 422. \$2.50.
- Fiebig, Paul.** *Der Menschensohn.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. 127. M. 3.
- Abbott, E. A.** *The Son of Man: Contributions to the Study of the Thoughts of Jesus.* New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 926. \$5.50.
- Schweitzer, Albert.** *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede.* New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 410. \$3.50.
- Pfleiderer, Otto.** *The Early Christian Conception of Christ: Its Significance and Value in the History of Religion.* New York: Putnam, 1905. Pp. 170. \$1.25.
- Brückner, M.** *Die Entstehung der paulinischen Christologie.* Strassburg: Heitz, 1903. Pp. 237. M. 5.
- Réville, Albert.** *History of the Dogma of the Deity of Christ.* 3d ed. London: Green, 1905. Pp. 284. 2s.
- Conybeare, F. C.** *Myth, Magic and Morals.* Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1909. Pp. 382. \$2.50.
- Denney, James.** *Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ.* New York: Doran, 1909. Pp. 368. \$2.
- Sanday, William.** *Christologies: Ancient and Modern.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1910. Pp. 244. \$1.75.
- Nolloth, C. F.** *The Person of Our Lord and Recent Thought.* New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 366. \$1.50.
- Durell, J. C. V.** *The Self-Revelation of Our Lord.* New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 252. \$1.25.
- Kühl, E.** *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu.* Gr.-Lichterfelde: Runge, 1908. Pp. 88. M. 0.90.
- Seeberg, Alfred.** *Christi Person und Werk nach der Lehre seiner Jünger.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1910. Pp. 109. M. 2.80.
- Bailey, J. W.** *Does Hellenism Contribute Constituent Elements to Paul's Christology?* Chicago: Hazlitt & Co., 1905. Pp. 90. \$0.50.
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- Lobstein, Paul.** *The Virgin Birth of Christ.* New York: Putnam, 1903. Pp. 138. \$1.25.

- Soltau, Wilhelm.** *The Birth of Jesus Christ.* New York: Macmillan, 1903. Pp. 83. \$0.75.
- Usener, H.** "Nativity" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. III (1902), cols. 3,340-52.
- Schmiedel, P. W.** "Mary" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. III (1902), cols. 2,954-69.
- Orr, James.** *The Virgin Birth of Christ.* New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 301. \$1.50.
- Sweet, L. M.** *The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1907. Pp. 365. \$1.50.
- Lake, Kirsopp.** *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. 291. \$1.50.
- Meyer, Arnold.** *Die Auferstehung Christi.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. Pp. 368. M. 4.
- Schmiedel, P. W.** "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. IV (1903), cols. 4,039-87.
- Völter, Daniel.** *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu.* Strassburg: Heitz, 1910. Pp. 60. M. 2.
- Brückner, M.** *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland in die orientalische Religionen und ihre Verhältniss zum Christentum.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 48. M. 0.50.
- Baldensperger, W.** *Urchristliche Apologie: Die älteste Auferstehungskontroverse.* Strassburg: Heitz, 1909. Pp. 39. M. 2.
- Loofs, Fr.** *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert.* 3 Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. 45. M. 0.75.
- Riggenbach, Ed.** *Die Auferstehung Jesu.* 2 Aufl. Gr.-Lichterfelde: Runge, 1908. Pp. 39. M. 0.45.
- Orr, James.** *The Resurrection of Jesus.* New York: Doran, 1908. Pp. 292. \$1.50.
- Swete, H. B.** *The Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion.* New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 151. \$0.80.
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- Drews, Arthur.** *The Christ Myth.* (From the 3d Ger. ed.) Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 304. \$2.25. *Die Zeugnisse für die Geschichtlichkeit Jesu.* Jena: Diederichs, 1911. Pp. 474. M. 6.50.
- Smith, W. B.** *Der vor-christliche Jesus.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 262. M. 4.
- Kalthoff, Albert.** *Das Christus-Problem.* Jena: Diederichs, 1902. Pp. 87. M. 2. *Die Entstehung des Christentums: Neue Beiträge zum Christus-Problem.* Jena: Diederichs, 1904. Pp. 155. M. 4.

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- Robertson, J. M.** Christianity and Mythology. London: Watts, 1900. Pp. 501. 8s. 6d. Pagan Christs: Studies in Comparative Hierology. London: Watts, 1903. Pp. 400. 8s. 6d.
- Weiss, Johannes.** Jesus von Nazareth, Mythos oder Geschichte? Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 171. M. 3.
- Jülicher, Adolf.** Hat Jesus gelebt? Marburg: Elwert, 1910. Pp. 37. M. 0.50.
- Weinel, Heinrich.** Ist das "liberale" Jesusbild widerlegt? Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 111. M. 1.60.
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- Dibelius, M.** Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1910, No. 18, cols. 545-51; 1911, No. 5, cols. 135-39. (Review of recent pamphlet literature on the question whether Jesus lived.)

The terms Eschatology, Messianism, and Christology are differentiable but synonymous. Eschatology is the modern systematic-theological term for the doctrine of human destiny. Jewish eschatology we designate as messianism, because its chief idea was that of a divine salvation to be effected by the Messiah. Primitive-Christian eschatology was Jewish messianism with certain modifications as to the conception of the Messiah; this modified doctrine of the Messiah we call Christology ("Christ" being the Greek term equivalent to the Jewish term "Messiah"). The literature on this whole subject, as may be seen above, assumes variously the three major titles: Eschatology, Messianism (or Messianic Hope), and Christology; besides such additional minor titles as the Future Life (Hope), the Last Things, Immortality, etc. The books here named are presented in two groups: (1) those which deal in general with the Jewish and primitive-Christian ideas of human destiny; and (2) those which deal in particular with the primitive-Christian ideas of the person and work of Christ.

CHARLES and MATHEWS give excellent surveys of the whole eschatological thought of the Jews and Christians in the first century A.D. The eschatology of the gospels is interpreted by v. DOBSCHÜTZ, and of Paul's epistles by KENNEDY. These four books make a capital equipment in English for the New Testament student. VOLZ gives the fullest and most useful account of Jewish eschatology, ably supported by the works of BALDENSPERGER and GRESSMANN. A brief but valuable sketch by KNOPF indicates the eschatological thought of the first Christians. SHARMAN seeks by radical historical-literary criticism to relieve Jesus of most of the eschatological ideas which the Synoptic Gospels attribute to him; MUIRHEAD and HAUPT are similarly apologetic in applying a spiritualizing interpretation to Jesus' eschatological teaching. The volumes by KABISCH and SALMOND are older works that still have value, but represent traditional views. LAGRANGE, OESTERLEY, and HART are recent books that seek to make use of the best that has just been achieved in the study of the Jewish literature of the New Testament period, and of the relation of Jewish Messianism to the kindred thought of other peoples. SCOTT's recent book, like his former ones, is scholarly, moderate, helpful. GOODSPEED, RIEHM, and HÜHN present in various ways the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament.

The New Testament teaching as to the person and work of Christ has been for ten years a keenly pursued topic of study, and the new literature is extensive. GRANBERY gives an excellent outline of the New Testament thought of Christ, distinguishing the several types and endeavoring to trace the genetic relations between them in the rise of the primitive-Christian Christology. J. WEISS has made three highly valuable contributions, the latest being a short sketch of the whole New Testament teaching about



Christ. HOLTZMANN's monograph on Jesus' messianic self-consciousness is perhaps the strongest discussion we have in defense of the gospel representation that Jesus considered himself Messiah; SCHÜRER and BALDENSBERGER maintain with first-class scholarship the same view. SCHMIEDEL finds it difficult, but in a modified and disconsolate way recognizes it. WREDE, LIETZMANN, and SCHMIDT hold that Jesus did not consider himself Messiah, the gospels reflecting the later christological thought. FIEBIG and ABBOTT are more conservative, contributing valuable works to the discussion of the subject. SCHWEITZER shows what the critical opinions are and how they have developed. PFLEIDERER, BRÜCKNER, RÉVILLE, and CONYBEARE, representing different degrees and methods of radical criticism, aim to trace the rise of the New Testament christological doctrine out of Jewish and non-Jewish religious ideas in that period.

Another group of writers undertakes the defense of the gospels in representing that Jesus considered himself Messiah with stronger theological prepossessions and purposes, in reply to present questionings as to the validity of the New Testament Christology. The two works by DENNEY and SANDAY are the ablest of this class. NOLLOTH and DURELL are on similar lines, and very useful. Among the many German writings in this apologetic movement those of KÜHL and SEEBERG may be particularly mentioned. BAILEY argues that Paul's thought of Christ was not essentially influenced by Hellenism.

The supernatural conception and the resurrection of Christ as two especial elements in the New Testament Christology have been extensively discussed, it being tacitly recognized that these ideas are integral parts of the doctrine and that the whole Christology is involved. From the standpoint of comparative religion, it is argued by LOBSTEIN, SOLTAU, and USENER that the idea of the supernatural conception of Jesus may have arisen out of current speculative thought. SCHMIEDEL argues on the ground of historical and literary criticism against the trustworthiness of the infancy stories as narratives of literal fact. The two books by ORR and SWEET are representative of a large number that undertake to refute the attack upon the gospel representation and the traditional doctrine. As to the resurrection of Jesus, LAKE, MEYER, and SCHMIEDEL reach negative results by the application of a thoroughgoing historical criticism. VÖLTER, BRÜCKNER, and BALDENSBERGER endeavor to show how the doctrine arose out of the speculative concepts and apologetic needs of the first century A.D. The defense of the New Testament teaching as to Jesus' resurrection is vigorously and ably maintained by LOOFS and RIGGENBACH in Germany, and by ORR and SWEET in GREAT Britain.

The latest form of the critical-philosophical attack upon the traditional Christology is a flat denial that there was an historical person Jesus at all. In various ways it is argued by DREWS, SMITH, KALT-HOFF, JENSEN, and ROBERTSON that the christological ideas of primitive Christianity and the literature of the New Testament arose out of the surging, creative religious thought-movements of the period. The blindness of this philosophical criticism to the historical facts underlying the New Testament is made evident in the monographs and lectures by J. WEISS, JÜLICHER, WEINEL, v. SODEN, HAUCK, and many others. DIBELIUS gives a survey of the important writings in this current German controversy.

## 6. THE MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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- Laidlaw, John.** *The Miracles of Our Lord.* New York: Funk, 1892. Pp. 384. \$1.75.
- Steinmeyer, F. L.** *The Miracles of Our Lord.* New York: Scribner, 1875. Pp. 274. \$2.25.
- Hutchison, John.** *Our Lord's Signs in St. John's Gospel.* New York: Scribner, 1892. Pp. 237. \$2.25.
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- Sanday, William.** Outlines of the Life of Christ (1908), pp. 101-16. Life of Christ in Recent Research, chap. 8. (See under *THE LIFE OF JESUS*.)
- Brown, W. A.** Christian Theology in Outline (1906, Scribner), pp. 223-32.
- Clarke, W. N.** The Christian Doctrine of God (1909, Scribner), pp. 192-212.
- Mackintosh, H. R.** "Miracles and the Modern Christian Mind," in *The Expositor*, May, 1910.
- Forsyth, P. T.** "The Evidential Value of Miracles," in *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1909.
- Knight, G. T.** "The Definition of the Supernatural," in *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1910.
- Ropes, J. H.** "Some Aspects of New Testament Miracles," in *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1910.
- Rainy, R., Orr, J., and Dods, M.** The Supernatural in Christianity. New York: Scribner, 1894. Pp. 111. \$0.80.
- Bowne, B. P.** The Immanence of God. Boston: Houghton, 1905. Pp. 153. \$1.
- Illingworth, J. R.** The Divine Immanence. New York: Macmillan, 1898. Pp. 254. \$1.50.
- Lyttleton, A. T.** The Place of Miracles in Religion. London: Murray, 1899. Pp. 150. 5s.
- Duff, E. M., and Allen, T. C.** Psychic Research and Gospel Miracles. New York: Whittaker, 1902. Pp. 396. \$1.50.
- Mozley, J. B.** Eight Lectures on Miracles. 2d ed. London: Rivington, 1867. Pp. 409. 10s.
- Newman, J. H.** Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles. 9th ed. New York: Longmans, 1890. Pp. 400. \$2.
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The doctrine of miracles in the New Testament is closely associated with the doctrine of Christ's person and work. The chief miracles are his supernatural conception, moral perfection, divine knowledge and authority, atonement by his death, and resurrection. Correlative with these are the miracles of healing, of controlling nature, and of raising from the dead. The older books on the New Testament miracles generally assumed them as literal facts and proceeded to expound them for homiletic use, as is done by BRUCE, LAIDLAW, STEINMEYER, HUTCHISON, and TRENCH. The more recent books give themselves chiefly to a defense or a refutation of the historicity of the miracles. Able discussions in their defense have been contributed by BERNARD, MURRAY and CHASE, SANDAY, BROWN, CLARKE, MACKINTOSH, FORSYTH, KNIGHT, ROPES, RAINY, *et al.*, BOWNE, ILLINGWORTH, LYTLETON, DUFF and ALLEN, as representative of the class. The earlier English works of first importance in the defense of the New Testament miracles were by MOZLEY, NEWMAN, and BUTLER. BREWER furnishes an elaborate collection of post-biblical miracles in connection with Christianity, to aid in the consideration of the whole problem of miracle. The recent literature in denial of the historicity of the New Testament miracles proceeds in the main from a philosophical rejection of the whole idea of miracle, and is well represented in the writings

of SCHMIEDEL, PFLEIDERER, SABATIER, G. B. FOSTER, TRAUB, WENDLAND, SAINTYVES, MAY, WARSCHAUER, CARPENTER, GARDNER, F. H. FOSTER, JEVONS, RYLE, and GORDON. The earlier works of first importance that stood for a similar view were by WHITE, ARNOLD, HUXLEY, STRAUSS, RENAN, and HUME.

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[CLEMEN in his two works gives a valuable conservative discussion of some of the main problems of New Testament study. TITUS in his massive work deals most helpfully with the doctrine of salvation as set forth in the several portions of the New Testament. GUNKEL presents some important considerations in the relation of New Testament thought to the history of religion, and particularly shows how this relation appears in the apostolic doctrine of the Holy Spirit. WOOD, SWETE, and WINSTANLEY also furnish excellent monographs on the Holy Spirit in primitive-Christian doctrine. WINDISCH and SCHMITZ give us capital studies on the New Testament ideas of baptism, sin, and sacrifice. The older works by SCHNEDERMANN and BOUSSER on the Kingdom of God as viewed by Judaism and by Jesus are still among the best discussions of the subject. The monographs of LÜTGERT, HEITMÜLLER, and FRIEDLÄNDER contribute much to the understanding of certain features of New Testament teaching. ARNOLD's three works, written about forty years ago, have been very influential and are still useful for replacing the dogmatic by the historical view of the New Testament teaching. GARDNER's two books, of more recent date, are engaged upon the same work; while lacking something of the simplicity, directness, and literary quality of Arnold's writings, they too are excellent and effective.]

## VI. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

### I. AMERICAN

**The Biblical World.** Founded by William R. Harper. Editor-in-Chief, Ernest D. Burton. Editors, the Divinity Faculty of the University of Chicago. A Monthly Illustrated Magazine for Bible Students. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$2 a year.

**The Journal of Biblical Literature.** Edited by a Committee of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. Semi-annual. Containing Papers by Members of the Society. Published for the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis by G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. \$3 a year.

**The American Journal of Theology.** Edited by the Divinity Faculty of the University of Chicago, with the co-operation of certain American Scholars. Managing Editors, Ernest D. Burton, Gerald B. Smith. Quarterly. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$3 a year.

**The Harvard Theological Review.** Edited by the Faculty of Divinity in Harvard University. Quarterly. Published by Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. \$2 a year.

**The Princeton Theological Review.** Edited by the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. Quarterly. Published by the Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. \$3 a year.

**Bibliotheca Sacra.** Editor: G. F. Wright. A Religious and Sociological Quarterly. Published by the Bibliotheca Sacra Company, Oberlin, Ohio. \$3 a year.

**The Review and Expositor.** Edited by the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Quarterly. Published by the Seminary Press, Louisville, Ky. \$2 a year.

**The Methodist Review.** Editor: William V. Kelley. Bimonthly. Published by Eaton & Mains, New York. \$2.50 a year.

**The Methodist Review.** Editor: Gross Alexander. Quarterly. Published by Smith & Lamar, Nashville, Tenn. \$2 a year.

**The Reformed Church Review.** Editors: George W. Richards, John S. Stahr. Quarterly. Published by the Reformed Church Publication Board, Lancaster, Pa. \$2 a year.

Of the American periodicals the *BIBLICAL WORLD* and the *JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE* publish only articles on the Bible. The *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY*, the *HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, and the *PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* are devoted to the entire field of theology, but contain many articles on the Bible. The other periodicals named have a general religious purpose; they publish occasional articles on biblical and theological subjects, but are in the main devoted to articles on practical subjects of homiletical interest to the preacher.

## 2. BRITISH

**The Expository Times.** Editor: James Hastings. A Monthly Magazine for Bible Students. Published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh; imported by Scribner, New York. \$1.50 a year.

**The Expositor.** Editor: W. Robertson Nicoll. Monthly. Published by Hodder & Stoughton, London. \$3 a year.

**The Interpreter.** Editor: Hewlett Johnson. Quarterly. Published by Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London. 4s. 6d. a year.

**The Hibbert Journal.** Editor: L. P. Jacks. Sub-Editor: G. Dawes Hicks. Quarterly. A Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Published by Williams & Norgate, London; imported by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. \$2.50 a year.

**The Journal of Theological Studies.** Editors: J. F. Bethune-Baker, F. E. Brightman. Quarterly. Published by Henry Frowde, London. 12s. a year.

**The Review of Theology and Philosophy.** Editor: Allan Menzies. Monthly. Published by Otto Schulze & Co., Edinburgh; imported by G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. \$4 a year.

**The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.** Edited by the Officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as the Official Organ of the Society. Quarterly. Published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, London; Secretary for America, Professor L. B. Paton, Hartford, Conn. \$2.50 a year: free to subscribers to the Fund.

Of the British periodicals, the *EXPOSITORY TIMES*, the *EXPOSITOR*, and the *INTERPRETER* are biblical, containing articles on the interpretation of the Bible. The *HIBBERT JOURNAL* is an exceedingly vigorous, able, and outspoken representative of advanced biblical criticism and theology. The *JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* is mainly devoted to scholastic articles and reviews upon the patristic literature, but has

important articles on biblical subjects. The REVIEW OF THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY aims to give a scholarly survey of all current theological literature. The PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND QUARTERLY STATEMENT is a valuable record of current archaeological research in Palestine.

### 3. FRENCH

**Revue biblique internationale.** Edited by l'École pratique d'Études bibliques établi au Couvent Dominicain Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem. Quarterly. Published by the Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris. Fr. 15 a year.

**Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.** Editors not indicated. Bimonthly. Published by Émile Nourry, Paris. Fr. 12.50 a year.

### 4. GERMAN

**Theologische Literaturzeitung.** Edited by A. Titius and H. Schuster. Semi-monthly. Published by the J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig. M. 18 a year.

**Theologisches Literaturblatt.** Edited by L. Ihmels. Semi-monthly. Published by Dörffling & Franke, Leipzig. M. 10 a year.

**Theologische Studien und Kritiken.** Editors: F. Kattenbusch, F. Loofs. Quarterly. Published by F. A. Perthes, Gotha. M. 16 a year.

**Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums.** Editor: Erwin Preuschen. Quarterly. Published by Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen. M. 12 a year.

**Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.** Editors: W. Herrmann, M. Rade. Bimonthly. Published by J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen. M. 6 a year.

**Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.** Editor: W. Engelhardt. Monthly. Published by the A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger, Leipzig. M. 10 a year.

**Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.** Editor: Heinrich Hilgenfeld. Quarterly. Published by Diesterweg, Frankfurt a. M. M. 15 a year.

**Protestantische Monatshefte.** Editor: J. Websky. Monthly. Published by M. Heinsius Nachfolger, Leipzig. M. 8 a year.

**Theologische Rundschau.** Editors: W. Bousset, W. Heitmüller. Monthly. A Review of Current Theological Literature. Published by J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen. M. 6 a year.

**Theologische Quartalschrift.** Edited by the Professors of Catholic Theology at Tübingen. Quarterly. Published by H. Laupp, Jr., Tübingen. M. 9 a year.

**Theologische Revue.** Editor: Franz Diekamp. Twenty numbers a year. Published by the Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster i. W. M. 10 a year.

**Biblische Zeitschrift.** Editors: Joh. Göttberger, Jos. Sickenberger. Quarterly. Published by the Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, Freiburg i. B. M. 12 a year.

**Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.** Editor: C. Steuernagel. Monthly. Published by K. Baedeker, Leipzig. M. 12 a year.

**Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.** Editor: G. Hölscher. Monthly. Published by K. Baedeker, Leipzig. M. 12 a year.

**Theologischer Jahresbericht.** An annual index and review of the theological publications of all countries. Founded in 1881. Editors: G. Krüger and M. Schian. Published by M. Heinsius Nachfolger; imported by G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. The whole work in 8 Parts, M. 38. Part II, Das Neue Testament, bearbeitet von Brückner und Knopf, 1910, pp. 112, M. 4.75. Part III, Das Alte Testament, bearbeitet von Westphal, 1910, pp. 99, M. 4.25.

The THEOLOGISCHE LITERATURZEITUNG is the most complete chronicle and review of theological literature from a progressive standpoint. The THEOLOGISCHES LITERATURBLATT is a similar publication representing extreme conservatism. The THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN and the ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE NEUTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT are the ablest German magazines containing articles chiefly on biblical subjects, the latter being the only periodical devoted exclusively to the New Testament. The ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE, the NEUE KIRCHLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT, the ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE, and the PROTESTANTISCHE MONATSHEFTE are publications of the first class covering the entire theological field. The THEOLOGISCHE RUNDSCHAU is devoted to reviews of current theological writings, carefully grouped and ably treated. The THEOLOGISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT, the THEOLOGISCHE REVUE, and the BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT are Roman Catholic, representing the better biblical scholarship of that branch of the Church. The ZEITSCHRIFT DES DEUTSCHEN PALÄSTINA-VEREINS, and the MITTHEILUNGEN UND NACHRICHTEN of the same Society, are most helpful records of current German exploration in Palestine. The THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT is an indispensable annual record and review of the world's books and articles on theological subjects.







# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVII

JUNE, 1911

NUMBER 6

## Editorial

### THE UNIFICATION OF NATIONS, AND THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD

The nations of the world are constantly and rapidly coming closer together. France has recently adopted the system of time belts, already in use in the rest of Europe except Russia, in the United States and Canada, and in considerable parts of Africa and Asia. The day is probably not far distant when, in practically all the civilized world, differences in time will be reckoned in even hours. The very watches that we carry in our pockets bear witness to the growing unity of the world. Of far greater significance are the practical steps recently taken for the prevention of war. The statesmen of Great Britain have given cordial response to the suggestions of the President of the United States respecting an arbitration treaty which, by bringing all differences between the two countries within its terms, would tend to make war between these two countries impossible. The people of the British Isles have promptly indorsed the utterances of their statesmen, and in the other countries of Europe there have been expressions of a desire to take similar steps in the direction of universal peace. These signs of promise may not at once come to full fruition. Treaties proposed may not at once become treaties in force. But delay, if it occurs, will be only temporary. The movement for the creation of permanently friendly relations between nations through the substitution of courts of arbitration for conflict of armies has behind it forces too powerful long to be resisted. The dreams of universal empire achieved by force of arms cherished by the Alexanders and the Napoleons will never be realized. Instead will come a federation of nations of ever-increasing scope.

This movement is of far more than merely political significance. It is related both as effect and as cause to the interchange of thought, and the contact of individuals of different nations in every sphere of human activity. Commerce has for centuries been international. Science knows no boundaries of physical or political geography. Chemistry is neither American nor European. Education is, in a sense, a national or local matter, but in other aspects of it is thoroughly international. Every nation is interested in the financial condition and the monetary system of every other. It is not only politically, but in all the aspects of human life that the nations are drawing near together.

This increasingly close and friendly contact of races and nations with one another is in no small part the result of the progress of religion. What will be its reflex influence on the religions of the world? Will it bring peace or a sword? Which ought it to bring? In the general era of international peace, ought Christians to make as little effort to change the religious condition of other peoples as to overthrow their government or their civilization, or ought the increasing closeness of contact and intimacy of relations to stimulate missionary zeal?

The martial spirit in religion has already been greatly modified by more intimate acquaintance between Christian and non-Christian peoples. The missionary efforts of Christians have, especially within the last century, done much not only to bring the knowledge of the Christian religion to non-Christians, but also to acquaint Christians with the non-Christian religions and their adherents. Mutual acquaintance has generated mutual respect, and toleration and emulation have, in no small measure, taken the place of contempt and hostility. Men of different religions are in many instances more friendly today than a century ago were men of different sects of the same religion. We have come to see that it is un-Christian as well as unscientific to refuse to admit the truth of the true or the goodness of the good wherever it may be found.

But the attitude of Christian thinkers toward the adherents of other religions has also been modified by larger knowledge of their own religion. Historical and sociological studies have combined to force upon the minds of Christians the recognition of

defects of historic Christianity. These defects pertain not simply to the practices of professed Christians of today; they have never been absent, except in the life and teachings of Jesus himself. Neither the prophets that preceded him nor the apostles that followed him were perfect in life or infallible in doctrine. One of the greatest claims of Christianity to the respect of men has been its self-criticism accompanied by the power, often suppressed and held in check, but never lost, of reform and rejuvenation from within. The increasing recognition of this fact has tended not only to create among Christians a sympathetic attitude toward other religions, but also to lead the propagator of Christianity to turn upon his own religion, as he has inherited and held it, the scrutiny of honest criticism, and to endeavor to include in his message all those elements and only those elements of historic Christianity which are calculated to elevate the life of the people to whom he brings his message. These influences have undoubtedly already abated the zeal of Christian missionaries to overthrow and supplant other religions, and are already leading many of them to adopt, as the expression of their attitude toward non-Christian religions, the words of Jesus, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil."

But this does not signify an abatement of genuine missionary zeal. In the long run, and even speedily, the increasing intimacy of international relationships will bring with it a reinforcement of the missionary spirit of Christianity. The force that created the modern missionary movement was the spirit of altruism that is at the very center of Christianity. The specific expression of this altruism was affected by the theological dogmas then current and the opinions then prevalent respecting non-Christian peoples and their religions. The modification of these dogmas and opinions will modify the expression of the missionary spirit, but will not destroy it. To the abiding desire, which can perish only when Christianity itself perishes, to do good to all men as we have opportunity, the new conditions of our day will bring a powerful reinforcement. The enlargement of our sphere of influence simply increases the number of those with whom we must seek, in the spirit of our Master, to share the best we have.

But more than this: the inevitableness of the contact between

Christian and non-Christian peoples, the fact that we cannot if we would escape influencing other nations, compels us to be missionaries, and furnishes a new motive for being bearers of the best. Merchants, diplomats, travelers for pleasure and curiosity, even the propagators of the vices of Christian lands, are constantly giving to other nations their account of the Christian religion, and exerting on them an influence which is, not wholly wrongly, charged to the account of Christian nations. But if this representation of our religion is inadequate and incorrect, if there are in that religion elements of truth and of power for the elevation of human life of which the merchant and the traveler give no just and adequate expression, then not the Christian spirit of benevolence only, but even justice, demands that we shall supplement this incorrect and insufficient expression of our religion by one which will not only represent it more justly, but which will make it a helpful rather than quite possibly a harmful influence on the lives of other peoples.

The zeal for the speedy accomplishment of a great task which has found expression in that watchword of more than one modern missionary movement, "the Evangelization of the World in this Generation," will probably give place, as it ought, to a recognition of the fact that the purposes of God ripen slowly, and that he who has never forgotten the nations of the East may not hasten to its completion the accomplishment of his great purpose for them in our day or through our hands. It may lead us to think more of the parable of the leaven, and less of that of the wheat and the tares. It may transfer our emphasis from the methods that promise speedy results to those that look to the distant future, and make us willing to sink our lives as Jesus gave his, in a movement which, after centuries, still awaits its fruition. But, in the long run, if we believe in the religion of Jesus and have his spirit in our hearts, the larger our world the more the channels of mutual influence that connect its several parts, the more zealous we shall be to see that our Christianity, freed to the utmost possible extent from all elements of weakness and impurity, shall exert its beneficent influence upon, and become a mighty power in, that federation of the nations which will presently include all the peoples of the world.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BAPTISM OF JESUS FOR HIS CONCEPTION OF HIS AUTHORITY

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Few things about Jesus are more striking or unquestionable than his sense of authority. For a man without ambition, the very assumption of such a public career as his would be inexplicable without it. Nor was this sense of authority merely subjective. He gave to others also the impression of a unique possession of it.<sup>1</sup> Though he taught the brotherhood of all, he did not imply all were equally important. The "talents" were not equally distributed, nor did he choose all his disciples to be apostles, or equally his intimates.<sup>2</sup> John the Baptist was to him as great as any born of women. But one of the "lesser" in the kingdom of heaven was greater than he.<sup>3</sup> Yet his own sense of authority in that kingdom was such that to those who would be its members he said simply, "Follow me,"<sup>4</sup> "He that is not with me is against me,"<sup>5</sup> "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."<sup>6</sup>

This sense of authority expressed itself also in authoritative acts: he legislated like another Moses, and his "But I say unto you" was valid not only against human traditions, but the Mosaic law itself.<sup>7</sup> He blessed some,<sup>8</sup> and pronounced woes upon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mark 1:22=Matt. 7:29=Luke 4:32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jülicher, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 4, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 11:11=Luke 7:28.

<sup>4</sup> Mark 1:17; 2:14; 8:34; 10:21; Matt. 8:22=Luke 9:59.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 12:30=Luke 11:23.

<sup>6</sup> Luke 14:26; cf. Matt. 10:37. Though this passage may have undergone some generalizations (cf. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, 207), the assumption is in any case stupendous.

<sup>7</sup> "Thou shalt not kill," "commit adultery," "forswear thyself," Matt. 5:21, 27, 33. Cf. Schürer, *Das messianische Selbstbewusstsein Jesu Christi*, 9 f.

<sup>8</sup> Mark 10:16; Matt. 5:3 f.=Luke 6:20 f.; Matt. 11:6=Luke 7:23; Matt. 13:16=Luke 10:23; Matt. 24:46=Luke 12:43; cf. also Matt. 16:17; Luke 11:28; 24:50.

others,<sup>9</sup> and these blessings and woes were sometimes closely connected with relationship to himself, "Whosoever confesses me before men, I will confess before my father,"<sup>10</sup> "Blessed is he who is not offended in me,"<sup>11</sup> "Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe in me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea."<sup>12</sup> He assumed even to forgive sins, a prerogative restricted by his contemporaries to God alone,<sup>13</sup> though foretold as characteristic of the messianic age.<sup>14</sup> It is very plain, too, that he had a distinct consciousness of possessing a vocation, a particular mission. This is proved by the many passages where he speaks of himself as having "come," or having been "sent."<sup>15</sup> Especially significant is his consciousness of having "come to seek and to save that which was lost."<sup>16</sup>

But what was the concrete form in which this consciousness of authority clothed itself? Can we assume that Jesus conceived himself as the Messiah, and not as Rabbi (Master, Teacher) or Prophet—the other religiously authoritative figures of his people? This assumption has been denied in recent years,<sup>17</sup> or has been accepted so hesitatingly as to be practically of no value in explaining the consciousness of Jesus.<sup>18</sup> And yet we think the evidence

<sup>9</sup> Mark 14:21 and parallels; Matt. 11:21=Luke 10:13; Matt. 23:13 f.=Luke 11:42 f.; cf. also Mark 13:17; Matt. 18:7.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. 10:32=Luke 12:8.

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 11:6=Luke 7:23.

<sup>12</sup> Mark 9:42 and parallels; cf. vs. 37 and parallels.

<sup>13</sup> Mark 2:5 f. and parallels; cf. Luke 7:47.

<sup>14</sup> Jer. 31:34; 33:8; Zech. 3:9; 13:1; Dan. 9:24; cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 197.

<sup>15</sup> Mark 1:38 and parallels; 2:17 and parallels; 9:37 and parallels; 10:45 and parallels; 12:6 and parallels; Matt. 11:19=Luke 7:34; cf. Matt. 10:40; 15:34; Luke 4:18; 10:16.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 19:10. A comparison of John 4:25 and 4:42 shows that the term "Savior" was one of the synonyms of "Messiah."

<sup>17</sup> Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901; Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte*, I (1897); II, 1, *Das Evangelium Matthäus* (1902); II, 2, *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas* (1905); Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth* (1907).

<sup>18</sup> Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905), 92 ff. Almost as valueless is the view of Schweitzer (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede* [1906], 393), that Jesus kept his messiahship a secret to himself and his disciples until betrayed by Judas.



is overwhelming that Jesus did consider himself the Messiah. It will perhaps suffice to review this evidence very briefly.<sup>19</sup>

In our gospel of Mark the first admission of messiahship on the part of Jesus occurs at Caesarea Philippi, when Jesus asked his disciples who men said he was.<sup>20</sup> That he made the admission here is the only adequate explanation of the series of predictions which follow. To take his charge to the disciples to "tell no man" of it as a denial is simply to beg the question. Again when John the Baptist sends an embassy to ask Jesus point blank if he is the Messiah, he answers by describing his work in phrases prophetically messianic.<sup>21</sup> Even more expressly involving messiahship is Jesus' reply to the Sons of Zebedee when they ask to share the highest honors of his messianic kingdom.<sup>22</sup> The Triumphal Entry and the Cleansing of the Temple,<sup>23</sup> however possible it may be that the coloring has been heightened in transmission, are unmistakable messianic acts. The question of Jesus concerning the Messiah as the Son of David<sup>24</sup> could never have been invented by the church, yet it unquestionably implies either that Jesus as Messiah is not the Son of David, or that he is the Messiah in a higher than the generally accepted political sense.<sup>25</sup> Most unmistakable of all is the final confession before the high priest<sup>26</sup> and Pilate<sup>27</sup> at the trial, reinforced as it is by the fact that he was sentenced ostensibly as a revolutionary aspirant for the Jewish throne,<sup>28</sup> that as such he was mocked,<sup>29</sup> and that he was crucified with the ironical but unambiguous inscription over his cross, "The King of the Jews."<sup>30</sup> The very faith also of his disciples in him as the Messiah after his

<sup>19</sup> Cf. especially Holtzmann, *Messianische Bewusstseins Jesu*, 21 f.

<sup>20</sup> Mark 8:27 f.

<sup>21</sup> Matt. 11:4-6=Luke 7:22, 23; cf. Isa. 35:5, 6; 61:1.

<sup>22</sup> Mark 10:35-45=Matt. 20:20-28.

<sup>23</sup> Mark 11:1 f.=Matt. 21:1 f.=Luke 19:29 f.

<sup>24</sup> Mark 12:35 f.=Matt. 22:41 f.=Luke 20:41 f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also the Parable of the Wicked Husbandman, Mark 12:1-12=Matt. 21:33-46=Luke 20:9-19.

<sup>26</sup> Mark 14:62=Matt. 26:64=Luke 22:70.

<sup>27</sup> Mark 15:2=Matt. 27:11=Luke 23:3; cf. John 18:33 f.

<sup>28</sup> Mark 15:2; cf. Luke 23:2, and John 19:12, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Mark 15:18 f. and parallels.

<sup>30</sup> Mark 15:26 and parallels.

resurrection is inexplicable, if Jesus during his lifetime had never given justification by suggesting such a claim. The cross was a "stumbling-block"<sup>31</sup> too serious for Jewish disciples ever to have invented the messiahship of a crucified malefactor.<sup>32</sup>

If, then, we may assume that Jesus' sense of authority bore a distinct relationship to his messianic consciousness, when did that messianic consciousness first arise? This question is more important than might be supposed. If the incident of Caesarea Philippi marked the birth of the conviction in Jesus' mind, and he was helped to it by the faith of his followers,<sup>33</sup> if it sprang up in the light of great publicity,<sup>34</sup> or came as the result of long and bitter inner struggle, then that sense of authority becomes either something *ab extra*, unrelated to his person, or at least the clarity and immediacy of the relation become obscured. Important strictures must then be made upon the conception of his authority itself, as well as obvious theological inferences which we need not mention.

Do then our sources afford any convincing evidence that Jesus' messianic consciousness dates from a period earlier than Caesarea Philippi, and from experiences more personal than the applause of those around him?

Three things seem to have stood at the beginning in the earliest sources of our Synoptic Gospels: the Preaching of John, the Baptism, and the Temptation of Jesus. They must have had an initial significance in the earliest gospel tradition. A careful study of their details justifies this position. They find their true significance only when they are regarded as the opening events of the public life of Jesus. The preaching of John was more than the occasion of the beginning of Jesus' ministry. John was the one person of all Jesus' contemporaries who seems really to have

<sup>31</sup> I Cor. 1:23.

<sup>32</sup> The contents of the title "Son of Man" as applied to himself by Jesus is of course important in determining his messianic consciousness. It is too technical a problem to be even recapitulated here. It may be said, however, that the great majority of scholars interpret it as messianic, and believe that Jesus applied it to himself.

<sup>33</sup> Reville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, II, 189-207; Pfeiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums* (1905), 101.

<sup>34</sup> Arno Neumann, *Jesus*, Eng. trans., 125.

influenced him.<sup>35</sup> According to both our sources, the burden of John's preaching was the coming of a stronger than he who should inaugurate a new era in the life of Israel.<sup>36</sup> Jesus' acceptance of the initiatory rite of baptism shows how deeply he was impressed with the significance of John's new movement. By that rite he dedicated himself to the new enterprise, which was in prospect at least essentially messianic. But our sources also make it unmis-



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takably clear that the rite itself was of unique significance to Jesus' conception of his own place in the movement. It is our especial task to determine what that significance was.

The two features in the synoptic account of the Baptism of Jesus which are most indicative of its meaning are the descent of the Spirit, and the voice from heaven. It has become general

<sup>35</sup> Matt. 11:7-19=Luke 7:18-35; cf. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, 178, 228.

<sup>36</sup> Mark 1:7 and parallels; Matt. 3:12=Luke 3:17.

among expositors today to regard these as pictorial representations of spiritual experiences of Jesus.<sup>37</sup> It is very evident that there has been a gradual "externalizing" of the accounts. According to Mark, Jesus is the only person affected,<sup>38</sup> and without detracting at all from the reality of the experiences recorded, we may regard them as confined to his spiritual consciousness, the substance of which he related to his disciples on some subsequent occasion.<sup>39</sup> The figurative language reminds one strikingly of other sayings of Jesus, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven," for example.<sup>40</sup> If the significance of the Baptism then lies in its meaning as an experience for Jesus himself, it immediately becomes an event of great importance in determining the nature of his self-consciousness.

Our synoptic evangelists regard the Baptism, and this descent of the Spirit in particular, as a sort of consecration or anointing of Jesus for his messianic work.<sup>41</sup> That Jesus should have also so regarded it is not improbable. Psychologically we should expect, if Jesus came to regard himself as the Messiah, he would, after the analogy of the Old Testament prophets, have had some outstanding religious experience which made his life-vocation clear to him.<sup>42</sup> The early chapters of Acts bear out this conception in not

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bruce, *Expositor's Greek Testament*, I, 86 f.; Sanday, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, II, 611; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I, 299 f.; Mathews, *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 84 f., and especially J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 64 f.; Klostermann, *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, II, 8; Denney, *op. cit.*, 179.

<sup>38</sup> Mark 1:9-11 = Matt. 3:16, 17 = Luke 3:21, 22. Observe "he saw" in Mark refers to both the rending of the heavens and the descent of the Spirit. Matthew makes it refer to the descent alone, and prefixes "lo" to both the opening of the heavens and the statement concerning the voice. Luke makes it all general and external by omitting the "he saw" altogether, and materializes the descent of the Spirit by adding "in a bodily form," and another word in the original (*γενέσθαι*), which externalizes the voice.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps at Caesarea Philippi; cf. Garvie, *Studies of the Inner Life of Jesus*, 129; Bacon, *American Journal of Theology* (1898), 541 f.; (1902), 236 f.; cf. however, *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), 11, and "Jesus or Christ?" *Hibbert Journal Supplement* (1909), 213 f., where Professor Bacon seems to have abandoned his previous position.

<sup>40</sup> Luke 10:18; cf. von Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu* (1909), 74.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bornemann, *Taufe Christi* (1896), 16 f.

<sup>42</sup> Compare the visions of Isaiah (6:1 f.), Jeremiah (1:4 f.), and Ezekiel (1:1), the call of Amos (7:14 f.), at the beginning of their prophetic work—all of which must have been familiar to Jesus. The verbiage of the accounts recalls Ezek. 1:1, "the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."

only regarding Jesus as "anointed,"<sup>43</sup> but also dating this anointing from the Baptism of John.<sup>44</sup> But the decisive thing is that the Old Testament passages, with which the descent of the Spirit and the content of the voice connect themselves, illuminate the whole incident, when it is regarded as a spiritual experience by which Jesus became aware of his messianic vocation. These passages are found in Isaiah and the Psalms. "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit. And *the spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him*" (Isa. 11:1, 2a); "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; *my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my Spirit upon him; he will bring forth justice to the gentiles*" (Isa. 42:1); "*The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me; because Jehovah hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek*" (Isa. 61:1; cf. Luke 4:18 f.). "Jehovah said unto me, *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee*"<sup>45</sup> (Ps. 2:4); "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness: therefore God, thy God, *hath anointed thee* with the oil of gladness above thy fellows" (Ps. 45:7); "He shall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation. I also will make him my first-born" (Ps. 89:26, 27a).

Though it is true the evidence for the messianic interpretation of the second psalm, as well as the Servant of Jehovah passages of Isaiah, in the times of Jesus is slighter than we should expect,<sup>46</sup> yet once we admit that the account of the Baptism is not the invention of the church,<sup>47</sup> and that these words "from heaven"

<sup>43</sup> Acts 4:27.

<sup>44</sup> Acts 10:38. Professor Bacon (*Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 11) seems to confuse the use of the resurrection in these chapters "to evince" Jesus' messiahship, or to represent its realization in power (cf. Rom. 1:4), with the idea of its inception. The secondary features in the accounts of the Baptism by which the descent of the Spirit and the voice are conceived as *evidences* or *authentications* of Jesus' messiahship, must not be made to discredit the messianic significance of the event for Jesus as indicated by the earlier form of the tradition.

<sup>45</sup> The western form of the Lukan text of the words heard at the Baptism, "Thou art my son; today have I begotten thee," has considerable to commend it (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, II, 356 f.; Blass, *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, xxxvii f., 14). We wish, however, to refrain from using as an argument what may be only a conformation of the text to that of the second psalm.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 219 f.; Mathews, *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 46 f.

<sup>47</sup> So Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Teil I.

had a meaning for Jesus himself, then their messianic connection is unavoidable.

It is admitted by all that fundamental in Jesus' self-consciousness was his unique sense of sonship. Whatever its content, it lies at the basis of all he had to bring mankind. Now it is noteworthy that the central thought in all these passages is sonship. In the whole Old Testament, Israel is regarded as the "son" of Jehovah, and in the passages quoted, Israel is represented by the two loftiest personifications characteristic of that Old Testament—the ideal theocratic king, and the Servant of Jehovah. That in Jesus' conception of his mission both these elements entered—that of the ideal kingdom of God on earth, and of the suffering Servant of Jehovah—and that they had a unique relation to his consciousness of sonship cannot, I think, be doubted.<sup>48</sup> To eliminate them means to deny his messianic consciousness entirely, and to disavow the primitive character of the section of Mark frequently called "the Doctrine of the Cross."<sup>49</sup> A third conception, that of the Apocalyptic "Son of Man," is really an outgrowth of the conception of the kingdom in the light of Daniel 7:2-27. And if, in spite of some recent criticism, Jesus employed it in reference to himself, it heightens the probability that Jesus applied to himself also these two other Old Testament personifications. In them Jesus' unique sense of divine sonship found expression. Not that the latter was first realized at the Baptism. Even if no value be attached to Luke's story of the boy of Twelve in the Temple,<sup>50</sup> the ethical implications of his sonship require its earlier realization. But rather that, in the exalted moment of his dedication to the great messianic movement John had inaugurated, Jesus realized that this unique sonship singled him out as the one chosen of God to establish his kingdom, and that his mission was not to be that of earthly conquest, but of vicarious suffering for others. Understood thus, these words not only throw new light on the Baptism, but become the explanation of his whole conception of his mission—a mission which his disciples never appreciated until his work was finished.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, "The Self-Consciousness of Jesus and the Servant of the Lord," *Expository Times* (May, June, July, August, 1908); Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, 119 f.; Mathews, *op. cit.*, 112 f.; Denney, *op. cit.*, 177 f.

<sup>49</sup> Mark 8:31—9:37.

<sup>50</sup> Luke 2:41-51.

The other feature of the Baptism—the descent of the Spirit—expresses the corresponding consciousness of divine equipment for his mission. It is the corollary of the sense of messianic sonship. After the analogy of God's special agents in the Old Testament, Moses,<sup>51</sup> the kings of Israel,<sup>52</sup> the prophets,<sup>53</sup> and the Servant of Jehovah in particular,<sup>54</sup> this equipment by the Spirit with power Jesus must have conceived as necessary before he began his messianic work.<sup>55</sup> And the picture of the heavens opened and the Spirit descending as a dove implies that Jesus realized that from the moment of his baptism he was endued with those powers of the Spirit of God necessary for the carrying out of his exalted vocation.

In a unique way, the story of the Temptation confirms all this.<sup>56</sup> It is found in both our synoptic sources, and the words from the second source ("Q"), "If thou be the Son of God," imply and corroborate this narrative of the baptism in Mark, connecting themselves as they do with the voice from heaven, "Thou art my beloved son." The character of the Temptation is distinctly messianic—not personal. It is not: Should he use these new powers for selfish ends? but, should he strive to set his people free, and found a universal empire on righteousness? Should he inaugurate a new era of fertility, prosperity, and justice, such as was included in the messianic hopes of his day? To do this would imply the spectacular, conspiracy, intrigue, the sword. Was it thus "the will of God was to be done on earth as it is done in heaven"? Here was the temptation. It was the nature of his messianic kingdom, and the means by which it should be realized.<sup>57</sup> From the Temptation onward until the open confession by the Twelve at Caesarea Philippi, there is no evidence of hesitation or indecision on the part of Jesus. Even though the Fourth Gospel's

<sup>51</sup> Num. 11:17.

<sup>53</sup> II Kings 2:9, 15.

<sup>52</sup> I Sam. 10:6, 10; II Sam. 23:2.

<sup>54</sup> Isa. 11:2; 42:1; cf. 61:1.

<sup>55</sup> For the way in which Jesus' miracles and higher knowledge are connected with the Spirit of God, cf. B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I, pp. 305 f.; *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 18.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. B. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 68; Denney, *op. cit.*, 186 f.; Mathews, *op. cit.*, 91; Sanday, *op. cit.* 612; Harnack, *What Is Christianity?* 149 f.; for a defense of the authenticity of the Temptation story as from Jesus' mouth, cf. O. Holtzmann, *Messiasbewusstsein Jesu*, 13 f.

<sup>57</sup> Garvie, *op. cit.*, 128 f.

account of an early Judean ministry be excluded, Jesus' messianic consciousness is presupposed by the Synoptics from the start. He speaks with authority,<sup>58</sup> he performs mighty works,<sup>59</sup> he is conscious of uniquely possessing the Spirit of God,<sup>60</sup> he answers John the Baptist by an appeal to Scripture for him unmistakably messianic,<sup>61</sup> he claims to be greater than Jonah or Solomon.<sup>62</sup> Surely these are indications of a consciousness whose messianic character it is impossible to deny. Nor is all this based on but one of the sources of our Synoptic Gospels (Q). "St. Mark indeed knows as little of a development in our Lord's consciousness as Q; he also, like Q, places the revelation of the divine Sonship (the messiahship) at the beginning of our Lord's ministry."<sup>63</sup> "On their (Q and Mark's) united testimony the assault of destructive critical views, however necessary these are to easily self-satisfied research, will ever be shattered to pieces."<sup>64</sup> Subjective criticism therefore aside, so far as our documentary sources for the life of Jesus are concerned, nothing could be more firmly authenticated than the messianic consciousness of Jesus from the very beginning of his ministry.

In conclusion, it remains only to be said that historical criticism of our sources seems to justify the messianic character of the baptismal experience of Jesus. If, then, at the very beginning of his career he was conscious that in himself the highest aspirations of the psalmists and prophets of his people had their realization—and that back of and giving reality and power to all this was his absolutely complete and perfect filial relationship to God,<sup>65</sup> is it so surprising that this "Son of Man" spoke with an authority that is without parallel among other children of men?

<sup>58</sup> 1:22, 27, and parallels.

<sup>59</sup> Mark 1:25 f. *et passim*.

<sup>60</sup> Mark 1:12 and parallels; 3:29, 30 and parallels.

<sup>61</sup> Matt. 11:4-6=Luke 7:22, 23.

<sup>62</sup> Matt. 12:41, 42=Luke 11:31, 32.

<sup>63</sup> Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 247; cf. also, *What Is Christianity?* 149: "An inner event which Jesus experienced at his baptism was, in the view of this oldest tradition, the foundation of his messianic consciousness. It is not an experience which is subject to any criticism; still less are we in a position to contradict it. On the contrary, there is a strong probability that when he made his public appearance he had already settled accounts with himself."

<sup>64</sup> Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 249.

<sup>65</sup> Sanday, *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, 181 f.



## INFLUENCE OF THE BABYLONIAN EXILE ON THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

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Disaster and sorrow compel either a soul or a nation to seek anew the foundations of life. Times of sorrow are accordingly times of religious growth. The Babylonian exile was no exception. Indeed, the influence of this exile upon the religion of Israel was enormous. This was in part due to the fact that the exile was the external event necessary to crystallize the results of prophetic influences which had been at work for a long time, but it was also in part due to the deepening and clarifying of religious perception which disaster and sorrow bring.

The influence of the Babylonian exile is discernible in three great realms of life: (1) in the apprehension of religious truth; (2) in the outward organization of the religious life; and (3) in the standards of public morals. We shall endeavor briefly to treat each of these points, but before doing so a few words are necessary with reference to the nature of the exile itself.

It is often popularly supposed that at the time of the Babylonian exile Israel's life was completely broken off, and that the whole population was transported en masse to Babylonia. Such certainly was not the case. Nebuchadrezzar made two deportations of the higher officials, the priests, and the more wealthy citizens. One of these was in 598, the other in 586. Counting the families of those who were deported, probably not more than 25,000 or 30,000 people, all told, were transported. The great mass of the population, which in every country constitutes the poorer classes, was left in Palestine. The life of the poor thus left behind, robbed of their leaders, their capital desolated, and their land's trade ruined, must have been very hard. The most of those capable of leading in thought and action were with the exiles in Babylonia. It thus came about that, though the life of

the nation was not absolutely uprooted, the exiles exerted upon the future a degree of influence far out of proportion to their numbers.

The influence of the exile upon the apprehension of religious truth is disclosed in the study of one or two of the greatest personalities of the period—Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah. These were the two greatest thinkers of the time, and in their presentation of religious truth we ascertain the forefront of religious thought—the “new theology” of the period.

In the years of struggle while the exile was impending Jeremiah had under its shadow grasped the great truth that religion is inward in character, that it is a matter of the heart, and that no outward temple or ritual is necessary to its maintenance. This was a great step forward. Little more than a century before Isaiah had declared that Jerusalem was necessary to the worship of Yahweh and that he would defend it (Isa. 31:5). Jeremiah on the contrary declared that Yahweh would himself destroy the Holy City (see 22:1-12), and that in the future God's covenant with his people was to be a covenant of the heart, not an outward covenant of stones and ceremonies (Jer. 31:33). This great step forward in religious thinking was most timely. In the years to come when the sanctuary was desolate, and when many Jews were exiles in distant lands, it was this faith that religion was a matter of inward attitude rather than outward institution that kept Hebrew faith alive. Without it the Judaism of later times could never have been born.

Closely connected with the great truth of the inwardness of religion are three other great religious truths first set forth by Jeremiah under the shadow of the exile which are of prime importance. These are theoretical monotheism, or the recognition that the gods of the heathen are figments of the imagination, the perception that God is as willing to welcome penitent Gentiles as penitent Jews to his worship, and the fact of individual responsibility in morals.

Practical monotheism was from the time of Amos the working theory of all of Israel's prophets, but until Jeremiah no one had declared the non-existence of heathen deities. That step Jere-

miah took, telling his contemporaries that such gods were mere "vanities" or figments of the imagination (Jer. 10:15; 14:22). Of course he did not succeed in persuading all his contemporaries to adopt this view, and the older view, that a heathen deity represented some sort of a reality, lingered on for centuries. St. Paul, though he agreed with Jeremiah in principle (I Cor. 8:4 ff.), was still unable to shake himself entirely free from the older view (I Cor. 10:20). Nevertheless the insight of Jeremiah was very significant, and did much to clarify religious thinking.

Similarly Jeremiah's conception of the attitude of Yahweh toward the Gentile nations was much in advance of that of Isaiah. Isaiah (10:5 ff.) had represented Assyria as existing simply as a rod with which Yahweh could chastise Israel, and just as a father, when the whipping is over, breaks the useful switch and throws it away, so Yahweh, when his correction of Israel was completed, would break his rod, Assyria, and cast her aside. The thought underlying this was that God loves Israel only, and that all other nations exist only for her benefit. Jeremiah, on the other hand, pictures a time when all nations shall awaken to the fact that their gods are vanities and lies and shall come with confession to Yahweh and shall be welcomed by him (16:19-21).

In early Semitic life the family was such a unit that it stood or fell together. A good example of this is the story of the punishment of Achan in Josh., chap. 7. The prophets of the eighth century had denounced the sins of the nation rather than the sins of individuals. Individual sins seemed to gain their significance from their effect on the nation. Jeremiah, on the other hand, enunciates the great principle of individual responsibility in morals (31:29, 30), and in this he was cordially seconded by Ezekiel (see Ezek., chap. 18). How much the recognition of this principle meant to a healthy moral and religious life cannot be overestimated. These four great steps forward in the apprehension of the true principles of religion and morals had been taken by Jeremiah under the impending shadow of the exile. His sensitive spirit, because of its premonitions of impending change, grasped these more spiritual and fundamental truths.

In one respect the Second Isaiah, some forty years later, enlarged

the theory of religion. The contribution of this prophet to religious thought relates to the solution of the problem of suffering. As in exile he brooded over the reason why the leaders of his people had been torn from their homes and the independence of his land destroyed, he saw in these events the fulfilment of a divine mission. Like Jeremiah he believed that Yahweh would welcome the coming of the heathen to himself, but he went beyond Jeremiah in believing that God had chosen Israel to be his missionary, and the sufferings involved in the uprooting of the people which had marred the nation's beauty and left only the unlovely stump of her peasant population in the dry ground, was in part vicarious. Israel had suffered at the Lord's hand double for all her sins (Isa. 40:2). The half of this was for the sins of the nations. Later (52:15) he pictures the kings of these nations as standing astonished at Israel's sufferings, and then in a flash of insight perceiving that "he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows" (53:4 ff.).

It was thus that this unnamed preacher took up the great thought of Jeremiah as to God's universal care for the nations and made it illuminate the old faith that Israel was the chosen people. She had been conceited, thinking that she was chosen for her superior worth; her real choice was that through knowledge of God and through suffering she might win the world to him. This great flash of insight was directly born out of the crushing pain of the exile.

It in no way detracts from this great conception that it was unheeded by the prophet's contemporaries and plays almost no part in the post-exilic thought. One writer only, the author of the magnificent missionary tract, the Book of Jonah, took it up and urged it. Apart from this the idea waited till the sufferings of the Ideal Israelite, Jesus of Nazareth, enabled men to read the prophet's words in their light. They nevertheless stand as one of the profoundest glimpses ever obtained by a human mind into the great truth of the social oneness of man, and of the great fact in this social fabric which we call humanity that it is along the nerves of suffering and of sacrifice that the redeeming influences of the higher life are conveyed.

Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah were two men unusually endowed with the power of thought and with sympathetic religious insight. To trace the influence of the exile upon the outward organization of Israel's religion other personages must be studied. The first of these is Ezekiel.

Ezekiel was a priest of a sufficiently prominent family so that Nebuchadrezzar had selected him for deportation with the first body of exiles in 598. Five years later he became a prophet and before the city fell in 586 he had won a commanding position by his utterances. Among the exiles at Tel Abib he urged the same principles and attitudes of mind which Jeremiah was urging in Jerusalem. After the city fell he continued for some fifteen years to be the counselor and comforter of the exiles, and before his death drew up a new plan for the reconstruction of the political and religious life of Israel, when the opportunity should come to return. We find his plan in Ezek., chaps. 40-48.

In studying Ezekiel's plan one is at first surprised to see how much detail is given concerning the temple and its ritual. These things assume in his book an importance which seems to bring religion back from the regions of the heart where Jeremiah had placed it, to the realm of outer ceremonies. It should be remembered, however, that in Ezekiel the afflatus of the prophet was translated through the education and traditions of a priest. It must also be remembered that the marriage between prophetic ideals and ritualistic requirement had been begun in the middle of the preceding century by the authors of the Deuteronomic law. It had been perceived, perhaps, by Isaiah the son of Amoz himself, that the world was not ready for a spiritual religion without ritual, and so the Deuteronomic legislator or legislators had drawn up a code which reduced ritual to the smallest possible limits and eliminated its grossly immoral features.

It was upon this foundation that Ezekiel built, but he regulated certain details of the ritual with greater definiteness. Even Deuteronomy had permitted the menial work of the sanctuary, such as making music and slaying the sacrifices, to be performed by foreign slaves; Ezekiel directed that this should no longer be so, and out of the descendants of the priests of the old country

shrines he legislated into existence the class called Levites (see Ezek. 44:8-13).

Some seventy years later Ezekiel's example was followed by another priest who compiled the code of holiness (Lev., chaps. 17-26), and fifty years later still, by another who composed the main body of the Priestly Document of the Pentateuch.

In the period between 621, when Josiah introduced his reform, and the exile, the struggle to secure the observance of the Deuteronomic law had been very severe. Jeremiah and his contemporaries had not only had to work against the superstitions of the common people who inhabited the outlying towns in which shrines existed, but also against the self-interest of powerful priesthoods whose livings were cut off by the reform. Large numbers of these priests had been carried into exile. No doubt such of them as were not attached to the Deuteronomic reform lost their hold upon the faith of their fathers and were merged in the heathen life about them. Some of them, however, even from the country shrines, chastened by the great disaster of exile became, probably, converts to the reform. These priests were the guardians of ancient traditions of ritual as these traditions had been handed down in various shrines, and in the Holiness Code and the Priestly Document many of these old traditions found literary and legislative form. The pious exiles who penned them were careful to mold them to the new spirit. All features which had fostered the sensual practices of the high places were eliminated. The ritual finally presented was a ritual purged by prophetic insight; it made the social corruption against which the prophets had inveighed a crime.

Soon after 450 B.C. (scholars differ at present as to the exact date) Ezra brought the new law from Babylonia and with Nehemiah's aid induced the people in solemn assembly to bind themselves to keep it. In this way the exile gave to Israel the law. It terminated the period of the prophets, and inaugurated the period of the Pentateuch. The great ideals for which the prophets had striven had, when reinforced by the disasters of the exile, purified the ritual, but for the mass their ideal of religion as a thing of the heart had been abandoned. Religion was a matter of

external rule. In individual souls, however, the old ideal was cherished as the Book of Job and Pss. 50 and 51 witness.

In spite, however, of the theory of religion which underlay the adoption of the ritual law, the situation was such that it could not undo the prophetic work altogether. Even in Palestine itself many lived too far from the temple to often share in its services, and there were many who continued to live in Babylonia and other distant lands. These were compelled to make their religion to some extent a thing of the heart. They could observe many of the legal rules and could read and meditate upon the law, but their sacrifices were for the most part necessarily sacrifices of the heart. In spite, therefore, of the rebuilding of the temple Jeremiah's doctrine that religion was independent of the sanctuary was reinforced by the circumstances of the people.

The exile not only changed the organization of Israel's ritual, but it gave Judah a renovated social life. One has but to visit an excavation of an old Palestinian high place like that of Gezer and look upon the obscene emblems without number which were presented as offerings there, and which are themselves witness to the sacrifices of chastity which were continually made in those places in the name of religion, to realize what sinks of corruption every high place in Palestine was down to the year 621. The temple at Jerusalem was no exception to this rule as II Kings 23:7 testifies. The reform of Josiah had, no doubt, checked these corrupting influences for a time, but Ezekiel bears witness to the fact (Ezek. 8:1 ff.) that such worship was not suppressed. No doubt it continued to be practiced by the poor who were left in the land, for we learn from Isa. 65:3, 4, 11 that in the early days after the exile other old practices were still maintained. As, however, the new Judah became reorganized and the new law had time to make itself felt, all this was corrected. These old social sores were healed; the fountains of corruption dried up and, while lapses from morality no doubt occurred, as they do in all lands, there was a great difference in the general social level in this respect in the days after the exile. Thus the exile profoundly affected theology, ritual, and morals—the theory of religion, the practice of worship, and the application of religion to life.

So deeply did the exile cut into the national life, so wonderful did the resuscitation of the nation seem, that the memory of it lingered long to color with bitterness or thankfulness the sentiments of later years—bitterness if the thought centered on the persecutors, thankfulness if it centered on the gracious deliverance Yahweh had wrought. Happily thoughts of the last-mentioned variety generally prevailed. We have but one psalm like the 137th with its pathetic beginning and bitter ending, while there are several which express the other sentiment. Thus Ps. 85:1:

Yahweh, thou hast loved thy land,  
Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob.

Similarly Ps. 124:6 ff.:

Blessed be Yahweh,  
Who did not give us a prey to their teeth!  
Our soul has escaped like a bird from a fowler's snare;  
The snare is broken and we have escaped.

Also Ps. 126:1 ff.:

When Yahweh brought back the captivity of Zion  
We were like them that dream.  
Then was our mouth filled with laughter  
And our tongue with singing.

On the whole the memories of the exile seem to have deepened Jewish appreciation of Yahweh's goodness and to have contributed to a sense of gratitude for divine mercies, which must often have been the basis of consecration to divine service.

Two other influences of the Babylonian exile upon Hebrew religion should briefly be noted. In Babylonia the Hebrews came in contact with a fascinating mythological literature. However much they might be offended by its mythology, the subject-matter of such poems as the creation epic and the Gilgamesh epic greatly attracted them. That these had an effect even during the exile itself is shown by the influence of the Babylonian Creation epic upon the Priestly writer's account of the creation in Gen., chap. 1, and by the fact that he adopted the account of the flood. The flood story was not so significant, however, as it had made its way westward centuries before and been given to the Hebrews



by J<sup>2</sup>. These Epics were destined in the post-exilic days to exert a great influence. Poets like the author of Job (see Job 3:8, 9:13, and 26:12, 13) and Psalmists, such as the author of Ps. 89 (see vs. 10), found in this material some of their most telling illustrations. As time went on, too, an allegorical application of these stories had, as Gunkel has shown, an important influence in shaping the apocalyptic expectations of the Jews, leading them to believe that, as the present heaven and earth were created through conflict, upheaval, and struggle, so the new heaven and the new earth must be inaugurated by a similar conflict with the supreme power of evil, and by a supernatural cataclysm. Thus in a remote, yet direct, way the exile helped to transform the messianic expectations of the Jews from the simple character in which they had been held by the prophets to the supernatural character that they take on in the apocalyptic literature.

In still another way the exile exerted an influence upon Israel for many centuries. This was through the establishment of a permanent and prosperous colony of Jews in Babylonia. Even at the early date of the exile the Hebrew evinced that striking aptitude for business which has characterized him since. Many who had been transported to Babylonia entered into business there. The documents found in the business archives of Nippur reveal many Jewish names among the business men of the Persian period. These men were faithful to their religion, but were too prosperous to go back to Palestine. For fifteen hundred years from their transportation by Nebuchadrezzar these Hebrew communities in Babylonia were known as the *Goliuth* or "Captivity." That there were students of the law among them, we have already seen. In the days of Zechariah this "Captivity" was already contributing to Jerusalem silver and gold (see Zech. 6:10, 11). In the time of Nehemiah, Ezra and the law came from the "Captivity." Such gifts were but the earnest of many which were to follow. In the time of Herod the Great, Hillel, another great teacher of the law, was given by Babylonia to Jerusalem. Interested in all that pertained to their race and religion, these wealthy Babylonian Jews developed schools of the law that influenced the whole Jewish world, giving finally to their church the Talmud in

what is, perhaps, its most influential form, the "Babylonian Talmud."

Perhaps no single event in Hebrew history influenced her religion more deeply than the Babylonian exile. Of course the exodus from Egypt and the covenant with Yahweh were more fundamental, but the Babylonian exile helped more than any succeeding event to bring these earlier events to their legitimate spiritual fruitage.

## THE MAKING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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The term New Testament (*διαθήκη καινή*) is as old as the prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 31:31 [LXX 38:31]), where it is used of the compact to be made by Jehovah with his people in the latter days, and is translated "new covenant." From this passage and with this sense the phrase passed into the Epistle to the Hebrews (8:8; 9:15). In the earliest account of the Lord's Supper (I Cor. 11:25), the expression is used by Jesus of "the new covenant" ratified by his blood. It stands in a similar connection in the Gospel of Luke (22:20), though the text here is more than doubtful. In II Cor. 3:6 the expression occurs: "who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter, but of the spirit, for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." In none of these texts does it have a literary sense, or refer to a book or collection of books. Indeed its use in this last passage ("the letter killeth") is as far as possible from such a meaning. And while the expression recurs from time to time in early Christian literature (Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 11:3, 4; 12:2; 34:1; 43:1; 51:3; 118:3; 122:5; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 4:34:4), its use in the literary sense of our "New Testament" is not reflected before the time of Melito of Sardis, about 180 A.D. In the preface to his *Eclogae*, partly preserved in Eusebius (*H.E.* 4:26:14), Melito gives a list of "the ancient books" (*τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων*), "the books of the old covenant" (*τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία*). While the literary sense ("the Old Testament") is usually understood in this passage, and this is felt to imply a "New Testament" collection of books, standing over against it, neither of these steps is altogether sure, and it is probable that we have even here only the old meaning, "the Old Covenant." Yet it is significant that Christians were already grouping the Law and the Prophets as the books of the Old Covenant, and it is clear that in this expres-

sion we are on the way toward the literary use first of the one term and then of the other. At the close of the second century Clement of Alexandria speaks of the "precepts of the Old Covenant (or Testament) and of the New" (τῆς τε διαθήκης τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας), probably employing the expression in the literary sense of a body of writings, and in Tertullian, a little later, the literary use of *Novum Testamentum* is unmistakable.

The motives that led the believers of the second century to collect their choicest writings into a New Testament are of the greatest interest and significance. It must not be supposed that such a collection was a foregone conclusion from the beginning, or that it was anticipated by the New Testament writers. The famous passage in I Timothy: "Every scripture inspired of God (πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος) is also profitable for teaching," etc. (3:16), has reference to the Old Testament and comes from a time when there was no other scripture which was deemed inspired. Paul's expression, "the letter killeth," and his attitude toward formal law expressed in scripture (Romans, Galatians) show how far he was from thinking of sharing in the making of a new scripture.

The earliest Christian documents that have been preserved to us (Thessalonians) are short, informal letters written by Paul about the middle of the first century to a church on the western shore of the Aegean. In the years that followed Paul wrote numerous other letters, and several of these were preserved by their recipients. Copies of them were sometimes requested, we may suppose, by neighboring churches or by Christian visitors from far away. Especially after Paul's imprisonment and execution (A.D. 64?), we may, if the case of Ignatius and his letters is any parallel, suppose that many a church that had known Paul would seek to secure copies of letters of his to other churches. Clement of Rome (A.D. 95) knows not only Romans, as we should expect, but I Corinthians as well. Thessalonica and Philippi would naturally share their letters, if Corinth and Rome did theirs, and Paul himself had expressly told the Colossians and Laodiceans to share theirs. Colossians, Philemon, and what we call Ephesians (probably a circular letter to the Asian churches,

and perhaps identical with Laodiceans, Col. 4:16) were delivered by the same messenger, and quite certainly all reached Colossae.

The Philippians early in the second century took the trouble to send to Polycarp at Smyrna for any letters of Ignatius that he might have or could secure; they would certainly have done as much for Paul. It is easy to see how by the end of the first century Philippi, Corinth, and Colossae would each be in possession of at the very least three letters of Paul's, and it seems probable that any central city of importance like Ephesus or Smyrna would in no long time come to possess two or even three of these groups. It is a significant fact that of all Paul's letters only two that were written to cities outside the Aegean basin have been preserved (Romans and Galatians). If Rome in the tenth decade had I Corinthians, it is reasonable to suppose that Romans was known in Corinth, where indeed it had been written. Similarly Galatians, the most impetuous and stirring of all Paul's letters, and one originally sent to several churches at once, would easily find its way into the Pauline collections that were growing up in the old Pauline centers about the Aegean. And so, early in the second century, the Aegean became in all probability the cradle of the Pauline collection.

Within a few years after Paul's death, the first record of the ministry of Jesus was written. According to an early tradition (Papias, A.D. 145), it was the work of Mark, the kinsman of Barnabas and the assistant of Paul, and was based upon his recollection of the discourses of Peter, who had recently died. This first gospel was soon after rewritten with the aid of other kindred materials, and so much improved and enlarged that the resulting book soon displaced in public favor the documents on which it had been based, the Gospel of Mark among the rest. From one of these constituent sources, it would seem, it took over the name of its author, the apostle Matthew, for an early tradition (Papias) ascribes to him an Aramaic collection of Jesus' sayings. Not many years later, Paul's friend Luke wrote his histories, a gospel based, like Matthew's, upon Mark, and a continuation of the story, the Acts of the Apostles, showing how the limited work originated by Jesus among the Jews of Galilee had extended to

the Greeks of Antioch, and finally of Rome, and resulted in the world-wide Christian movement in the full tide of which Luke and his readers found themselves. Thus at the close of the first century, individual churches or Christians were possessed of one or another of these, or possibly other, gospels. But that anyone had thought of putting forth two or more of them together, there is no evidence, nor would it seem a natural course, since all three duplicated each other in many particulars.

Where these gospels originated it is very difficult to say. But about the beginning of the second century a gospel was written at Ephesus which, by a new and striking interpretation of Jesus, sought to transplant Christianity from Jewish to Greek soil. It did not simply interpret Jesus in Jewish terms as Messiah or Christ, but found in him the Logos ("Word," "Reason") with which Greek thought had been so long concerned. Such a translation of the narrow Jewish designation into terms of Greek philosophy would commend Christianity to many in the Graeco-Roman world who had hitherto been repelled by its Jewish atmosphere and vocabulary. Indeed the Fourth Gospel may be characterized as the wedding of philosophy and revelation, and its influence upon Christian thought has been incalculable. We may not assume, however, that it was so esteemed from the first. It claimed the authority in some sense of the apostle John, and this must have helped its circulation. And it is not improbable that those who issued it at Ephesus soon found it desirable to conciliate partisans of the older gospels by including the best of these with it, and putting out the four gospels together. This would be an appropriate course, since John was meant to be less a parallel record than an interpretative supplement. At any rate, it seems altogether probable that it was in Asia, not far from A.D. 125, that the four gospels began to be known and used together. It is in the Gospel of Peter, written we know not where, and in Justin's *Apology*, written at Rome about A.D. 150, that we first find the four used side by side. Justin had a few years before come from Ephesus, where he had been converted to Christianity, and it was probably there, where the Gospel of John had been written, that he had become acquainted with the four gospels.

It was toward the middle of the second century that a movement began toward a Christian scripture, over against the Jewish. After the death of Paul the scattered churches, while still honoring him as an apostle, had gradually sunk back into a very Jewish type of life and thought. Their services were modeled upon those of the synagogue, and they studied the Jewish scripture as diligently and devoutly as the Jews themselves. It was in fact their Bible. Fixed forms of organization and church life (the pastoral epistles, Ignatius, the *Didache*) were thought necessary and were provided, in something of a Jewish spirit. The constant use of the Jewish scripture tended to increase and perpetuate these rigid tendencies, and the faith, spirituality, and freedom which characterized the work of Jesus and of Paul were in eclipse. At this juncture, toward the middle of the century, a certain Marcion of Pontus introduced a plan designed to emancipate the church from Judaism, and to restore the ascendancy of what he believed to be Pauline thought. The means by which he sought to achieve these ends were the substitution of a group of Christian writings for the Jewish scriptures, and the combination of the isolated churches into an organized body. The Christian writings which Marcion put forth as a substitute for the Jewish scriptures were the Gospel of Luke (but without Luke's name) and ten epistles of Paul, somewhat modified. His omission of the pastoral epistles is the first striking piece of external evidence against them. Upon this novel platform the able and energetic Marcion succeeded in uniting a great body of Christians all over the world. Justin complains that his followers were numerous in every nation (I *Apol.* 26:5). And his movement did not subside without having given to general Christianity a lesson of organization on the one hand, and a tentative collection of Christian scripture on the other. Whatever Christian canons were afterward formed, none could essentially better the fundamental structures of that first heretical New Testament, or omit one of its documents. All exhibit the gospel and the apostle, the record and the letters, and the eleven writings which Marcion collected are in them all.

The partial success of Marcion's Christian Bible and the subsequent acceptance and development of his idea by the Catholic

church clearly indicate that the thought of attaching authority and sacredness to some Christian books at least was not wholly new. The New Testament itself indicates that from the beginning utterances of Jesus were esteemed quite equal to the statutes and statements of the Old Testament. In Acts we read of the utterances of Christian prophets and prophetesses which were clearly recognized as inspired. When, as in the Apocalypse of John or, a generation later, the Shepherd of Hermas, a Christian prophet, like the literary prophets of the Old Testament, put his oracles in writing, his book must, if his prophetic vocation were still admitted, have been accepted as inspired, as it claimed to be. The existence and acceptance of such books, of which there were certainly three by A.D. 150 (John, Peter, Hermas), must have accustomed the churches to the idea of inspired Christian writings.

The gospel records into which the sayings of Jesus were early gathered came naturally to share in the esteem in which the sayings which so largely composed them were held. Especially when an apostle could be claimed as the author of such a record, its hold upon the respect of the churches was very strong. For as time went on, and erratic and divergent forms of Christian belief and life developed, the main body of Christians, searching for some fixed platform on which to base their belief and practice, found it in the teaching and conduct of the apostles. In the long conflict with the schismatics and heretics of the second century, it was to the apostles, as the spiritual executors of Jesus, the presumable depositaries of Christian truth, that the defenders of general Christianity appealed.

Just how early Christian writings came to be read in Christian meetings cannot definitely be determined. Paul charges the Thessalonians to see that his letter be read to all the brethren (I Thess. 5:27); and the reading of such letters may from the beginning have been at least an occasional part of the Christian service. That it was so at a later time the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to Soter of Rome, written about A.D. 170, clearly shows: "Today we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we have read your epistle. From it, whenever we read it, we shall always be able to draw advice, as also from the former epistle which was written



to us through Clement" (Eusebius, *H.E.* 4:23:11). If letters of Clement of Rome and Soter were read in church in Corinth in the second century, it is easy to suppose that letters of Paul were. And it is worth noting that Clement of Rome (A.D. 95) refers his Corinthian readers to "the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle" as though he expected them to be well acquainted with it, and to have easy access to it (I Clem. 47:1, 2).

Jesus, the prophets, the apostles: these were the new Christian authorities, fit to stand beside Moses and the prophets of old. And so when Marcion simply substituted them for the old, Christian feeling was not wholly outraged. Men felt that the Old Testament, widely known in the Septuagint version, was much too precious to be cast aside, and they charged Marcion with mutilating the very gospel and letters he canonized. But that he was blamed for canonizing them we do not hear.

The remains of Christian literature earlier than A.D. 180 are too meager to allow us to trace the working of these elements in detail. We know that Justin went from Ephesus to Rome and in writing his *Apology*, about A.D. 150, made use of our four gospels. It is natural to suppose that Justin knew these gospels before he left Ephesus for the west, and that they were jointly current in Asia by A.D. 135. About the same time the Gospel of Peter was written, incorporating elements of each of them. Ten years later, Marcion set about uniting the churches on the basis of his Christian scripture, of Luke, and ten letters of Paul: Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans, I and II Thessalonians, Laodiceans (= Ephesians), Colossians, Philippians, Philemon. Not only four gospels, then, but ten epistles of Paul were known in Rome and Asia in the second quarter of the second century, and at least one influential man had seen the propriety of linking gospel and epistle in a Christian scripture.

That Marcion shows acquaintance with but one gospel, at a time when Justin was using four, is less difficult to understand than how Justin should show so little acquaintance with the letters of Paul of which Marcion made so much. But only Justin's apologetic writings are known to us; and if we had his numerous other works, we might find more evidence of acquaintance with the letters

of Paul. Justin was furthermore rather strongly influenced by Johannine ideas, which may have overshadowed in his mind older types of Christian thought. It must be remembered, however, that Justin's pupil Tatian, returning to Syria about 170, put into circulation there his *Diatessaron*, a Syriac harmony made up of the interwoven four gospels. This was pretty certainly unaccompanied by Pauline or other letters and remained for a long time the Bible of the Syrian church. Tatian is the first man who is definitely known to have expressly co-ordinated the four gospels in any such way, and the fact that he afterward became a schismatic did not deter the church from following his example.

The activity of those gifted but eccentric teachers who founded and built up the early schismatic bodies was at its height about the middle of the second century, and leaders of saner and more conventional types of Christianity had long been seeking some corrective for their work. These efforts resulted, about A.D. 180, in the Catholic movement, which sought to unite the scattered churches into one general body, with one concise symbol (the so-called Apostles' Creed), one type of organization (the episcopate), and one body of Christian scripture, which should authoritatively embody the purest Christian tradition. The men who devised this plan were in a high degree practical and farsighted, and their plan was eminently successful. These very facts show, however, that their body of scripture cannot have been a great innovation, but was probably purposely made up of these Christian writings which already commanded the widest acceptance and respect. The four gospels of Justin and Tatian and the ten letters of Marcion made up the bulk of this new collection. Our earliest clear view of it is in the pages of Irenaeus (A.D. 185), a man of Asian origin, whose mature life was spent at Lyons in Gaul. In the course of his great work *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus mentions twenty-one Christian writings which appear in our New Testament. Besides the four gospels and nine letters of Paul (not Philemon), he has the Acts, the three pastoral letters (I and II Timothy, Titus), three catholic epistles (I Peter, and I and II John), and the Apocalypse. Whether he had the other catholics (James, Jude, II Peter, III John) and Hebrews is very

doubtful; Philemon he probably did have, since he knew the other nine letters of Paul so well. These writings, or some of them, Irenaeus freely co-ordinates with scripture, law, and prophets. But he does not scruple to quote as scripture the Shepherd of Hermas (*H.* 4:20:2), the prophetic claims of which he seems to have allowed.

Such was the condition of the New Testament of Gaul toward the close of the second century. A very similar condition prevailed, according to Tertullian, in North Africa about that time. Tertullian accepts the four gospels and Acts, thirteen letters of Paul, one epistle each of Jude, John, and Peter, and the Apocalypse of John. He was familiar with Hebrews, but held it to be by Barnabas and so uncanonical. Both Tertullian and Irenaeus emphatically affirm their belief in the authenticity of the Christian tradition handed down and preserved in the church at Rome, and it is of interest to compare the only Roman document of their day dealing with the New Testament canon, that has come down to us, the Muratorian Fragment. The Latin of it is so misspelt and distorted as to leave its meaning doubtful at some points, but the general purport is fairly plain; the writer accepts the our gospels and Acts, thirteen letters of Paul, three catholic epistles (Jude, I and II John), the Book of Wisdom, and the Apocalypses of John and Peter; though at this last point some would amend the text. The Shepherd of Hermas is mentioned, but is not reckoned with the others; Irenaeus' quotation of it as scripture has already been noted.

These three witnesses agree in acknowledging the four gospels, Acts, thirteen letters of Paul, the Apocalypse of John, and one epistle of John; that is, our New Testament, wanting Hebrews and six catholic epistles. The three agree in omitting Hebrews, James, II Peter, and III John. One or two of them accept one or more of the other catholic epistles, Wisdom and the Apocalypse of Peter. The Shepherd of Hermas seems to be almost canonically esteemed by Irenaeus (A.D. 185); it is set on a lower level in the Muratorian (*ca.* A.D. 200), and vehemently repudiated by Tertullian as a "Shepherd of adulterers."

Even in the home of the Catholic movement, then, the canon

was by no means fixed in A.D. 200, nor did it reach definite and permanent limits until nearly two centuries later. Clement of Alexandria sought and found inspiration in wider fields than his western contemporaries. With them, he did not acknowledge James, II Peter, and III John, but he freely quoted Hermas and he made a positive contribution to the New Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he, on the authority of "the blessed presbyter," doubtless Pantaenus, declared Pauline and apostolic. This view soon came to prevail in the East, but it was late in the fourth century before the West accepted it, finally yielding to its apostolic claims. The East was just as reluctant to admit the Apocalypse, with its dangerous chiliasm, into its canon. The persecutions of the early centuries exercised a strange accelerating influence upon the canonizing process. Christians called on to deliver up their sacred books had to ask themselves with a new earnestness what writings they might give up without scruple and what it would be apostasy to surrender. Yet early in the fourth century Eusebius could repeat Origen's division of New Testament writings into accepted, rejected, and disputed. In the last list, Eusebius places five catholic epistles: II and III John, II Peter, James, Jude; almost exactly those which Irenaeus, Tertullian, and the Muratorian omitted or disagreed upon. The canon of the catholic epistles was still uncertain in the East, and so continued into the fifth century, when Syria at least still refused four catholics and the Apocalypse (Chrysostom, the Peshito). Our present canon is first set forth by Athanasius in his festal letter of A.D. 367, and again affirmed by the Council of Carthage, thirty years later. But Gregory of Nazianzus (†389-90) clearly omits the Apocalypse, Amphilochius of Iconium (†ca. 394) says that the majority call it spurious, and Chrysostom (†407) makes no use of it. It does not appear in the great historic Syrian canon, the Peshito; and only after a thousand years found its way into the Armenian scripture, through the agency of Nerses of Tarsus, about 1198. The Greek church indeed does not use the Apocalypse in its church lessons, either "gospel" or "apostle," although ostensibly admitting it into its canon of scripture. Thus while Egypt and the West gradually accepted the whole *corpus catholicum*

(seven epistles) and the Apocalypse, the East only very reluctantly adopted the lesser catholic epistles and steadfastly refused the Apocalypse.

The earliest extended manuscripts of the New Testament that have come down to us belong to the fourth and fifth centuries. The oldest of these, the Vaticanus, unfortunately breaks off at Heb. 9:14. Sinaiticus, of the fourth century, has the full Athanasian New Testament, with Barnabas and Hermas following the Apocalypse. Alexandrinus, of the fifth century, follows the Apocalypse with I and II Clement, which were accepted in Egypt as canonical as late as the time of Abu'l Barakat (†1363). The Ethiopic New Testament still contains thirty-five books; the Clementines and the Synodos being added to our twenty-seven. Taking Christendom the world over, then, the canon has never been fully settled. Syrian, Greek, Armenian, Egyptian, and Abyssinian churches have all varied from each other and from the West.

That the principal writings which enter into our New Testament were well known in the East and West at the end of the second century is very clear. The movement to fix upon some of these as pre-eminently or even exclusively suitable to be read in church seems to have begun in Rome. It was in this sense that the Muratorian writer put forth his list: Hermas, he says, may be read, but never in church among either prophets or apostles. To this group of writings the Alexandrians added Hebrews under the impression that it was Paul's. Our present list appears first in Athanasius (A.D. 367), and the West adopted it at Carthage in 397. That the church was still by no means united upon it is evidenced by many an eastern father and canon; only the West stood firmly upon it, and with its increasingly powerful organization made acquiescence in it more and more complete. While what was aimed at from the outset was an exclusive list, of which it could be said, "These, and these only, may be read in church beside the Old Testament scriptures," some concessions had, in time, to be made in the direction of greater inclusiveness (always, be it observed, to writings for which apostolic origin was claimed) and some sifting-out of books which the general Christian consciousness could not, it developed, approve (Apocalypse of Peter).

or accept as apostolic (Hermas, Barnabas, I and II Clement). That the great eastern bodies on the outskirts of catholic Christianity never wholly concurred in all this is evidence that canonization was the first great step in that Catholic movement which preserved the church through the age of schism, and to which in a real sense we owe the New Testament. And when it is remembered that no ancient and few mediaeval Greek manuscripts contain all our New Testament, without the addition of extraneous works (Clement, Barnabas, Hermas), while many a Latin New Testament manuscript includes the spurious Laodiceans, it will be seen that there is truth in the statement that not until the invention of printing did the New Testament canon become definite and uniform even for the western world.

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION ON ENGLISH LITERATURE

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The Authorized Version of 1611 marks the completion of the earlier attempt to translate the Bible into English, after the invention of printing.

Wycliffe's translation in 1382 was circulated in written manuscript. At that time, the thought of the Bible began to be sown more generally in English thinking. Copying with the pen was a slow and costly process. Moreover churchmen and statesmen were alarmed at the growing independent thinking of the peasantry who came under Lollard influence, and the reading of the manuscript was largely suppressed. But Scripture truth had fallen into genial minds and began to do its subsoil work.

In the following century political and material considerations became dominant. Discovery and invention captivated the mind. In European centers there was an inundation of classical learning. Schools and universities felt the breath of a new freedom. The printing-press, introduced into England in 1470, was first employed to bring forth Greek and Hebrew books. There was a desire to get back to the sources. The great body of the English people, however, were waiting for their advantage to come. William Tyndale, who shared the new culture of Oxford and Cambridge, also shared the desire which Wycliffe had felt, and he undertook the task of giving to the English people a printed translation of the Bible. His remark to a churchman, with whom he had a controversy over the project, indicates the need of the people at that time: "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth a plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou knowest." He lived to finish only the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and Jonah. His friend, Coverdale, completed the task, though not in the same thorough way, and brought forth the first printed

Bible in English in 1535. Then came the "Matthew Bible" in 1537, the "Great Bible" in 1539, the "Genevan Bible" in 1560, the "Bishops' Bible" in 1570. Because of its convenient size, plain type, division into chapter and verse, and marginal notes the Genevan Bible was most widely circulated. Previous to 1611 one hundred and twenty editions were called for.

It was in the midst of this first, frequent issue of printed Bibles that a newspaper of the time declared: "Englishmen have now in hand, in every church and place, the holy Bible in their mother tongue, instead of the old and fantastical books of the *Table Round*, *Lancelot du Lake*, *Bevis and Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, etc., and such other, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly." It will thus be seen that the substance of Bible teaching had begun to flow in upon the English mind seventy years before the Authorized Version. Shakespeare is the most illustrious example of how thoroughly the loftiest thinking had become saturated with religious ideas. During the progress of work on this version, he was putting forth his greatest dramas. If one is disposed to question the influence of Bible thought on Shakespeare, because of many objectionable passages and the general worldliness of his plays, let him read such a book as that of William Burgess on *The Bible in Shakespeare*, and he will find proof massing and classifying itself beyond contradiction. Shakespeare not only found it in his heart to speak of

those holy fields  
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet  
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed  
For our advantage on the bitter cross,

but his ideas of kindness, mercy, virtue, conscience, time, immortality, God, judgment, come from the Bible. He depicts vice, but through every plot and tangle he makes sure the coming of one inexorable refrain, "Be sure your sin will find you out."

It will be impossible to analyze the influence of Bible thought on English literature and separate that which began its work before 1611 and that which followed after. The literature of the Elizabethan period itself transmitted biblical influence, independently of the King James version. The only way to look at the



influence of this version is to regard the version as a continuity, or, rather, a culmination of endeavor to make a translation as nearly perfect as was then possible. There had been rivalry between the preceding issues, especially between the Genevan Bible and the Bishops' Bible. This was due to a growing mistrust between the then emerging Puritan and Anglican parties. The desire of King James for the stability of his reign favored a representative body of men as translators: so Anglican churchmen, Puritans, and laymen co-operated in the task.

Green, in his *History of the English People*, speaking of those early days of translation, says: "The Bible was the one book which was familiar to every Englishman; the whole moral effect which is produced now-a-days by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. . . . All the prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wycliffe, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale."

#### BIBLICAL FONTAL MATERIAL

What is the thought material in the Bible? The Hebrew race had a genius for religion. They were keenly susceptible to the mysteries, the limitations, the exposures, the tragedies, the helplessness, the profound questionings of this earthly life. They went to the roots of things, and, at the same time, preserved primitive simplicity. Their thinking was elemental. It did not indulge in abstract reasoning. It dealt with the plain facts of life, with instinct, feeling, intuition, subtle suggestion, duties, right and wrong, fear and hope. It was religion rather than theology. It kept within the realm of the concrete, the poetic, the popular; all the time thrilling with life's intense realism.

It furnished, therefore, what might be called fontal material. It was not finished product. It was, rather, germinal stuff appealing to the common mind and easily transferable into the popular language of any people. Here we have rich, cumulative layers of religious experience; and, growing out of it, convictions, ideals, responsibilities, inspiring hopes—all pictured forth in the fascinating

array of historic events and characters, passionate poetry, proverbial wisdom, and opening vistas on down into a glorious future.

The Hebrew mind dealt with the great themes of God, nature, and man; and all were brought into unity. There was groping at the first, but corrective thinking kept pushing itself into the ascendancy. "In the beginning God." Back of all medley appearances the One, Creator. Through Nature God flashes his revealings. In the human heart he whispers his will. Man is a child of God, therefore brother to every other man; and, because of this divine relationship, every human individual is of inestimable worth. This leads to the divine quest for man's restoration; and all God-like men must sympathize with that quest. Therefore human life has a dominant purpose, a mission, a responsibility.

Here is the nucleus, biblical statement pulsating with life. And, radiating from this center, we have scattered through the whole bulk of Scripture germinal truths, great rugged elemental characters, typical points of view and attitudes of soul, visions, ethical standards, clustering virtues, that reach out into the length and breadth of history, and appeal to man in the totality of his being. This is the fontal religious material of the Bible, ready to flow in upon the thinking and the literature of any people so fortunate as to have it translated into their own vernacular. The supreme value of the individual human being, because of his relation to God, is "the distinct contribution of Christianity." This constitutes the "logical substructure for the sentiments of sympathy and love." It was this which led self-sacrifice into its holy place, and brought humility in among the virtues to breathe upon them and give them interior genuineness and reality.

#### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In marked contrast with the sixteenth century, in which the drama was the most popular form of literature, the seventeenth century was characterized by great religious and political excitement. England now had become "the people of a book and that book was the Bible. It was the one English book familiar to every Englishman. . . . A new moral and religious impulse spread

through every class." Theology came to the front, and the pulpit, rather than the stage, was the center of agitation and moulding influence. Milton is the towering literary character of the time. Whether he writes political pamphlets, as in *Areopagitica*, on behalf of the free interchange of thought, or gives his mind to wondrous poetic venture in *Paradise Lost*, the Bible furnishes him with germinal truths. "However imbued the surface might be with classical literature," says Wordsworth, "he was a Hebrew in soul and in imaginative material." Milton believed that "truth is strong, next to the Almighty. She needs no policies nor stratagems." The state papers of Oliver Cromwell are saturated with Scripture teaching. Bunyan read scarcely any other book than the Bible, and his *Pilgrim's Progress* multiplied into more volumes than that of any other book save the Bible. *Paradise Lost* has been called "the epic of Puritanism in its external and theological aspect," while *Pilgrim's Progress* is "the epic of Puritanism in its inner and emotional phases."

Dryden belongs to another class, and yet he insisted that "conscience is the royalty and prerogative of every private man." In his celebrated satire, *Absalom and Achitophel*, he makes free use of Bible material: and, in response to Jeremy Collier, a clerical critic, he says, "I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expression of mine which can be truly argued of obscenity, profaneness or immorality, and retract them." Pepys, who was always on the lookout for whatever would picture the times as they were, makes note in his *Diary* of seeing a shepherd whose little boy was reading the Bible to him and said, "It was the most pleasant and innocent sight I ever saw."

There cannot be found a stronger, more influential cluster of writers, first preachers and then theologians, than that presented in Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrows, Richard Baxter, John Howe, and Robert South. Added to these we have the Quaker trio—George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn. While for writers of hymns and beautiful religious lyrics we have Thomas Ken, Robert Herrick, George Herbert, and others. All these drink deep out of the one Book. And Sir Thomas Browne, quaint,

mystical, in a class by himself, though touched by doubts awakened in his scientific studies, shows that the inner spirit and lofty conceptions of the Bible are his main inspiration.

For scientists and philosophers in this period, whose work reaches to the excellence of literature, we may cite four names. Robert Boyle refused orders thinking he could serve religion more effectively as a layman. His "study of nature was blended with simple and deep religious feeling." He loved to discourse on the "excellency of theology as compared with natural philosophy." He had an Irish Bible published at his own expense. Isaac Newton spent much time in the study of the Bible, and, in the order of Nature, he found reason for increase of reverence for God. Ralph Cudworth, in writing the *True Intellectual System of the Universe*, devotes the introductory part to a refutation of atheism. John Locke, the father of English philosophy, wrote first of all *Three Letters concerning Toleration*. "Toleration is the chief characteristic mark of the true church." His *Essay concerning Human Understanding* came forth from a mind charged with simple piety. Materialistic philosophy might afterward manage to make a joining with some of his positions, but it was farthest from his thought. With the same pen he could write on *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delineated in the Scriptures*.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century is one of criticism, skeptical revolt, political revolution, turning to Nature for sources of literary activity, and introducing the essay and the novel to a firm place of power.

Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift, in their stories, allowed the moral element to have free play. *The Tale of the Tub* was written "in behalf of charity and good works among men of different faiths." There is a manifest attempt to broaden out sympathy for human life in humblest forms. Liberty of conscience is insisted upon: the Christian virtues are exalted. Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Richardson, and Fannie Burney, in their several portrayals and delineations, follow this lead. Addison, Steele, and Samuel Johnson, in their essays, sought the improvement of morals. The

great middle class was now appealed to, and here, because of widespread biblical influence, deportment and conscience must be respected. The fling of the French critics is largely true, "the English mind is dominated by a sense of duty." Pope, who is the Dryden of this century, is under the sway of natural religion: but in his *Messiah* he paraphrases passages from Isaiah. William Cowper is well known to this generation as a writer of Christian hymns. Robert Burns, though giving over his marvelous powers to wanton literary license and dissolute life, showed in his "Cotter's Saturday Night" where his elemental strength came from. Edward Young, in *Night Thoughts*, sings of immortality and the consolations of religion. James Thompson in *The Seasons* blends with his appreciation of nature moral considerations, born of intimate acquaintance with the Bible, while Thomas Gray, author of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, speaks of nature as "pregnant with religion and poetry."

Joseph Butler, in the *Analogy*, furnished a Christian apologetic which was used as a textbook for the next hundred years. Edmund Burke, the foremost representative statesman of England, looking across the continent to India, and across the Atlantic to America, insisted that the spirit of brotherhood should prevail, that political action must be founded on justice and humanity. And Samuel Adams, voicing the sentiment of the Pilgrim Fathers, replied in the language of Scripture, "What an affront to the King of the Universe to maintain that the happiness of a Charles is more precious in his sight than that of millions of his suppliant creatures who 'do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with their Lord.'" This tallied well with the opening of the Declaration of Independence. John Wesley in old England and Jonathan Edwards in New England became great names, not only in widespread religious revival but in religious literature, which overflowed on all sides into other related departments.

#### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century the novel and the essay continued to grow into even larger prominence, while the newspaper and the magazine sprang into phenomenal strength. The reading public

is wonderfully increasing. Democracy is coming to its own. Social and economic reforms start up on every hand and insist on the worth of the individual, the brotherhood of man, justice, fair play in everyday life. The scientific spirit leaps into the arena and calls for a reinterpretation of the facts of life and a readjustment of theories. A sense of responsibility takes possession of most of the leading writers. English literature, like Hebrew literature, throbs with the impulse of a conscious mission.

The two dominant literary characters at the dawn of the century, Wordsworth and Coleridge, did not share in this spirit; they did, however, give utterance to freedom of religious instinct; they taught secret lessons which lie at the heart of common things, and led the soul out of technical and ritual narrowness into the largeness of Nature's open, everyday revelation. Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* shows where he gets his fontal ideas, and his expression, "The Bible finds me," contains in germ the theory of "inspiration" as it is yet to prevail.

Walter Scott is the first of the great novelists. He paints scenes true to historic reality, but he "accepted religion as the background of a sane and healthy life." The portrayal of Jeanie Deans goes well with his last saying to Lockhart, when he would rest his soul on the truth of Scripture, "there is but one Book." Bulwer Lytton in *Paul Clifford* writes, as he says, "to call attention to vicious prison discipline and a sanguinary penal code." Dickens holds up to execration the ill-treatment of children, the wretchedness of the school system, the infamies of the workhouse, and the cruelty of the law governing debt. Thackeray took the title of his *Vanity Fair* from "the most widely read religious volume next to the Bible," and he said to his mother, concerning his purpose in the making of this book, "What I want is, to make a set of people, living without God in the world." Charles Reade writes *Put Yourself in His Place*. Charles Kingsley in *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* writes to men in religious and industrial perplexity. George Macdonald thought theologically while he was writing fiction. Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell introduces the problems of the employer and the employed. George Eliot, while cutting herself aloof from the church, could not get away from early reli-

gious training. Her delineation of the character, Dinah Morris, and her prevailing, subtle, psychological analysis of conduct, lifting conscience to its inner throne, shows how great her debt was to the Bible. "No writer of the first rank has more persistently rung the changes upon the great ethical principle of Christianity, 'whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.'" Nathaniel Hawthorne introduces us into "the realm of the burdened conscience longing for peace with groanings which cannot be uttered," while Harriet Beecher Stowe, lifting the plaintive cry of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, gave it wings to fly to the hearts of the English-speaking race. Robert Louis Stevenson, unconventional though he was, speaks of the Bible in this way: "Written in the East, these characters live forever in the West; . . . penned in rude times, they are prized more and more as civilization advances." In later years, especially, novels have been the medium for a thorough discussion of theological, sociological, and industrial situations.

Tennyson lived through all the scientific problems of his day and keenly felt their perplexity. Poet laureate of the Victorian Age, he, like the queen he served, was true to the Bible virtues and sang his way through doubt and fear to the triumphing of Christian hope. The queen declared that the Bible held the secret of the glory of her reign. Robert Browning, not only in "Easter Day," "Christmas Eve," "Saul," "A Death in the Desert," but in the great bulk of his poetry, shows how intensely he thrills with moral purpose. And when Kipling rises to his best, he gives us "The Recessional." Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier breathe the Puritan spirit. It was the verdict of Joseph H. Choate that, "When the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans came to New England, they carried with them, as their best possession, King James' Bible, on which their infant state was built."

Carlyle is a Hebrew prophet stalking through these modern days, crying out, "I do not want cheaper cotton, swifter railways. . . . I want God, freedom, immortality." Emerson stepped out of the pulpit onto a larger platform, but he was a preacher of righteousness to the last, only with wider margins thrown in. And Ruskin, speaking for himself, though he might as well have spoken for Carlyle and Emerson also, says, "I have

with deeper gratitude to chronicle what I owe to my mother for the resolutely consistent lessons which so exercised me in the Scriptures, as to make every word of them familiar to my ear in habitual music . . . yet in a familiarity revered, as transcending all thought and ordaining all conduct."

Statesmen like Brougham, Shaftsbury, Bright, and Gladstone, Washington, John Marshall, Webster, and Lincoln frankly acknowledge their deep indebtedness to the Bible. This was the one book of Lincoln's cabin home. The moral truth of it, as well as the Anglo-Saxon style, got into his blood.

During this century the press in its editorial columns had to be reckoned with, as well as the pulpit and the congressional hall. Not a few men wielded the pen, after the fashion of Horace Greeley, who stated it as his belief, "It is impossible to mentally or socially enslave a Bible-reading people." Charles Dana, a master of journalism, speaking to younger comrades in the craft declares: "The most indispensable, the most useful book, the one whose knowledge is the most effective, is the Bible. There is no book from which more valuable lessons can be learned. I am considering it now, not as a religious book, but as a manual of utility, of professional preparation and professional use for the journalist."

The printed sermons of men like John Henry Newman, F. W. Robertson, Canon Liddon, James Martineau, W. E. Channing, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Phillips Brooks came to take undisputed place in literature; while on the lecture platform such men as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Father Theobald Matthew, John B. Gough, Beecher, Chapin, and George William Curtis brought in a unique contribution, reinforcing social, political, and personal reform.

The scientific spirit has in these later years brought into overshadowing importance two departments of literature—that which has to do with the relations of science and theology and that which has to do with the historical criticism of the Bible. In the thick of controversy with the agnostic spirit, here and there, to some minds, the Bible might seem to be waging, at last, a losing battle; but Huxley, the apostle of agnosticism, after all is said and done, makes this frank acknowledgment: "I have been seriously perplexed to



know how the religious feeling, which is the essential base of conduct, can be kept up without the use of the Bible. For three centuries has it been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history." Historical criticism has come to emphasize the Bible as literature. Though, at first, this might appear to be simply destructive of old ideas about the sacred writings, it brings out into clearer, progressive and corrective light the essential ethical and spiritual values which make it the germinal, dynamic book it has proved to be.

The biblical doctrine of the brotherhood of man has wonderfully branched out, during this last century, into two great departments of literature, as well as of endeavor, namely, missionary and sociological. Bible-inspired men and women have girdled the world with their evangel, piercing the darkest corners with gospel light and the radiant glow of apostolic example. Heroic deeds have given birth to heroic missionary literature. And men who believe that salvation, if genuine, begins here and now, have risen up and emphasized the need of applying the inner law of it to the everyday affairs of life: not only to the individual and the church, but also to state, business, social life, home life, down to the minutest details of correct sanitation. The Good Samaritan must be multiplied by every brother man. Not alone the road to Jericho, but every road and by-path must blossom with thoughtful good-will. The voice of Christian sociology is heard in the land, echoing more and more loudly from a rapidly growing department of literature.

This article has been little more than sketchy and suggestive. It may well close with the words of Austin Phelps, not so very different from those of Huxley, and emphasizing the same substantial testimony: "When we speak of the sway of European and American mind, we speak of the conquests of the Scriptures. The elemental ideas lie at the foundation of it. Christianity has wrought revolutions of opinion; it has thrown into the world so much of original thought . . . that now the noblest type of civilization cannot be conceived of otherwise than as a debtor to the Christian Scriptures, like the debt of vegetation to light."

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PROPHET

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I well remember with what childish surprise I read of the Indian prophet, the brother of Tecumseh. It was the first inkling I had ever had that prophetism is a vocation which extends beyond the confines of ancient Israel. I had always regarded the Hebrew prophets as veritable anomalies among the rest of mankind, a unique and specially endowed type of men, possessed of keen vision and constantly inspired by God to ferret out hidden crimes, call their contemporaries to a higher order of life, and, most wonderful of all, able to see far into the future and predict with astonishing accuracy the course of events not yet come to pass. Of course there were the false prophets, but they were supposed to be mere imitators of the mouthpieces of the true God, despicable excrescences, as it were, upon the social order, hirelings whom the idolatrous kings utilized to offset the unpleasant messages of the true prophets. Further study, however, has shown that the false as well as the true prophets were of the same brotherhood, members of a large class which extended far beyond the limits of the Hebrew people. Hebrew prophetism itself has not been confined to Old Testament times. It has continued in an almost unbroken stream down to the present day.

The prophetic class has also flourished and has been fostered in all ages by the Christian church. Many of its leaders have been looked upon by their contemporaries as having all the insignia of prophets, and so they have. Of these George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, is a typical instance, not to mention the many in every generation, and even at the present day, who have failed to gain the recognition of the orthodox sects but who, nevertheless, doubtless belonged to the prophetic class. Of these latter were William Monod, the French messiah of the nineteenth century, Joseph Smith, the Mormon, and, still more recently,

John Alexander Dowie. Phenomena so widespread yield interesting results from comparative study, results not only of psychological value but also of much vital significance for the layman who has a general desire to understand something of the complexities and curiosities of human nature.

We may begin by asking what are the distinguishing characteristics of the prophets. To the popular mind, their most important attribute is apparently their reputed inspiration or "possession" by some power outside themselves by which they are enabled to utter things of peculiar weight or import. The prophets of modern peoples have all shown more or less ability to induce in themselves unusual, if not pathological, mental states and, from many suggestions in the writings of the ancient Hebrews, we judge that the earlier Old Testament prophets cultivated the same unusual mental states. It is probable that we have in these the key to the origin of the prophetic class. They were not primarily religious leaders, they did not necessarily have anything of religious character to say. They were simple persons possessed by a mysterious power, and they were therefore objects of superstitious awe.

To understand the full significance of this belief in possession we need to know something of a certain very primitive concept which even yet prevails among savage peoples. From very early times man seems to have had the notion that a mysterious power, not necessarily personal, pervades the world about him. Most observers of these races have interpreted this belief in terms of spirits. It has been assumed that primitive man regards every inanimate object about him as possessed of a spirit. Closer observation, however, has revealed that it is chiefly the more or less strange and unusual objects that are so regarded, and that it is not a definite spirit in many cases but merely a vaguely conceived force, impersonal and more or less mechanical, which, though theoretically everywhere, is present in marked degree in certain objects, animals, and people. This idea is largely held by the North American Indians and has been called by the Algonkin, *manitou*, by the Iroquois, *orenda*, and by the Siouan tribes, *wakonda*. The South Sea Islanders have a very similar notion and their name is *mana*. Many other examples of the belief might be cited

from other quarters of the world. The first missionaries to the Indians interpreted the Algonkin *manitou* as Great Spirit, and the idea has commonly prevailed ever since that Indians were worshipers of a supreme and possibly beneficent God. Later research, however, has proved that this assumption was incorrect. The *manitou*, in its pure form, was simply a name to designate the Indians' vague belief that a quasi-mechanical force was more or less widely diffused in nature, a force with which inanimate objects might be surcharged, apparently as we think of certain objects as charged or alive with electricity. The Indian, moreover, thought that whoever was fortunate enough to gain *rapport* with this force, whether it should chance to be in inanimate objects or in animals, might thereby be able to do many astonishing things. In fact, every one who performed a difficult feat of any sort, such as the killing of big game, or the defeat of cunning enemies, did it through his *manitou*. A person seized with a fit or who uttered strange sounds was believed to have "power," to be *manitou* in fact, and such a one was regarded with much caution while in such a condition, simply because the onlookers feared that the power here manifested might injure them in some way.

A concrete illustration of this belief may be of interest. One of the men from the American Museum of Natural History was spending some time among the Blackfoot Indians a few years ago. He was one day joking some of them about their belief that all extraordinary ability in man as well as all striking occurrences are but manifestations of *wakonda*. But they retorted quickly that the white man also believes in this power although he will never admit it. It is through his peculiar access to *wakonda* that he has proved superior to the Indians on so many occasions; through it he also has wrought out all the wonderful tools of civilization. In proof of their statements they pointed to the eagle on the dollar as sufficient proof of the real, though unconfessed, dependence of the white man upon this mysterious power. "There," they said triumphantly, "there is your thunder-bird, it helps you to get *wakonda*," and we must admit that the shrewd Indians' way of putting it was not so very inapt after all. This belief is, in part, the explanation of the lack of energy and forcefulness manifested

by some Indians after contact with the whites. Why should they strive to do anything? The white man's *wakonda* is clearly superior to theirs and it is useless for them to try to compete with him. It is said to be a standing marvel among some of the Indians that the white man is not blasted by the *wakonda* which he so evidently is ever using while he pretends that all he does is entirely by his own strength.

With variations, this belief is apparently common to all primitive peoples. Whatever attracts attention in any way, either because of its unusual features or its actions, is thought to be full of this mystic potency, which, as I have said, is in some cases merely a vague impersonal force, although in others it is conceived in terms of spirits. Among all primitive peoples, a person who falls into a trance or has an unusual experience or even a dream is thought to be in touch with this force, or, if the idea of a deity has developed, such phenomena as these are readily interpreted as cases of the god's showing himself through the man. Persons who are subject to such experiences, and especially those who can bring them on at will, are highly respected, consulted in times of danger, and often are chosen as leaders. They readily become medicine-men or shamans.

Among savages it is natural that many persons should wish to gain *rapport* with this power, or with spirits, as the case may be, but not all can succeed in getting an experience that is satisfactory. Originally, of course, these states of mind are unsought for, but when the attention has once been attracted by them, they are readily cultivated and various means are used to bring them on in persons who might otherwise be quite normal. Of course, many of the persons who are naturally subject to these unusual experiences are insignificant creatures and have little influence over their fellows, in spite of their reputed power. But occasionally a man of character and striking personality is endowed in this peculiar way and he at once becomes an important figure in his social group.

It is in phenomena of this sort, as I have said, that we may find the background from which the prophet as a definite personality emerges. The early Hebrew prophets were all men of

unusual experiences, a fact which undoubtedly suggested to their fellows that they were in peculiar touch with higher powers. A very interesting illustration of this is to be found in the story of Gideon. It will be remembered that his leadership of his people was preceded by visions. Like a practical man, however, he wished to be sure that he was in communication with the genuine power, that is, the power he was accustomed to think of in terms of Jehovah, hence he devised the curious test of the fleece and the dew. We may also recall that Samuel's career as a prophet was opened by peculiar auditory experiences, shall I say auditory hallucinations? Hosea says that the prophet is a fool and the man that hath the spirit is mad. As I take it, the words fool and mad are not to be interpreted in the sense in which we ordinarily use them, but rather in the sense set forth in the preceding paragraphs. That is, a prophet is essentially one who behaves in an extraordinary way, and even seems bereft of his senses because he is under the control of some power. In the time of Jeremiah also the man who prophesied was considered as good as a madman.

While the prophet was often a religious leader, it is probable that all people who acted strangely got the reputation of belonging to this class, whether they said anything of a religious character or not. The Old Testament suggests that in the early times there were bands or schools of prophets, and it is not entirely clear that these bands always had a religious significance. They may sometimes have been clusters of people bound together by the frenzied states of mind which they were able to produce in themselves through the power of mutual suggestion. We are aware that frenzy is contagious and that it may seize an outsider who ventures too near those who are affected. There is an interesting illustration of this in the story of how Saul once chanced to be classed among the prophets. Once upon a time, the story goes, "Saul sent messengers to take David and when they saw the company of prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the spirit of God was also upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again the third time and they prophesied also. Then

he also went to Ramah . . . and the spirit of God was upon him also and he went on and prophesied . . . and he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'" What is here described is nothing more than a motor automatism which spread to everyone who came near, and the erratic behavior of the group was such that it is not unlikely that they were looked upon as fools by their more stable-minded brethren, and by those of a more religious frame of mind as inspired by Jehovah.

This same prophetic class exists among the primitive Semitic peoples of today, and it has probably continuously existed in the lower stratum of Semitic society since the earliest times. A recent writer who has studied the matter at first hand says that these modern prophets, while regarded by their neighbors as "holy men," are such persons as we would call insane. They are said to be possessed by a jinn or spirit. The most respectable men and women submit to the greatest insults from them because they believe them to be possessed. They are believed to be able to foretell the future and to warn people of impending danger. It is not unlikely that the early prophets of Israel were as a class quite similar to those of the modern pagan or semi-pagan inhabitants of those same regions. Some of them, of course, contributed to the moral development of the people, but as a class their significance lay altogether in their being conspicuous, that is, strange figures among their contemporaries. Even the early prophets mentioned in the Old Testament did not advance beyond the traditional religion of their day. In their messages, they were concerned chiefly, as in the case of Elijah, with enjoining upon their fellow-countrymen a stricter adherence to traditional usages. It was because the prophet was supposed to be *en rapport* with some superior power that he presumed to dictate to kings and other rulers. That he acted in accord with the proprieties of public sentiment is seen from the fact that these rulers always listened to him with more or less respect. Sometimes his power was even greater than that of these political officials, for he could make and unmake them, as we all recall the case of Samuel who first anointed Saul as king

and later turned the dynasty into the house of Jesse. The story of how he rebuked Saul for not utterly destroying the Amalekites is of significance here, and especially the frenzy which seized Samuel so that he leaped upon the captive king and hewed him to pieces. The stories told of David and Nathan and of Ahab and Elijah are important in this connection.

These early prophets showed their remarkable abilities in various ways. For example, the men sent to take Elisha were temporarily stricken blind, a very natural consequence of the awe with which they must have approached a man reputed to be possessed by unusual powers. From this point of view, also, the story of the death of Elijah is most interesting. Elisha prays of his master, when he realizes that the latter is about to die, that he will bestow upon him a double portion of his spirit, that is, of his power. The interpretation of the incident offered by the Hebrew writer and the one generally accepted by us is that the power here referred to is that of Jehovah. I have no desire to question this, but simply to point out that the attitude of mind here disclosed is a lineal descendant of the primitive conception that remarkable men have a peculiar potency which they can transmit at will, or in some cases only at death, to some favorite son or disciple. At the present day some savages believe that a medicine-man is able to bestow his unusual ability upon certain young men who show themselves apt. Even among the cultured races there are persons reputed to have a mystic power of foretelling or of healing which has been handed down as a gift from an older relative, perhaps a father, and they in turn, when they are at the point of death, must give it to an eldest son, or to some other member of the next generation. I myself knew an old German who healed diseases by the laying on of hands and the repeating of a gibberish of some sort. She told me she had received her gift in this way and that she must make similar disposition of it before she died. She, also, interpreted her power as from God, but if she had been living in a lower social stratum she would have possessed a spirit and if at a still lower level she would have had simply a "power."

In primitive Hebrew prophetism we thus find phenomena



which are so closely analogous to the folk-beliefs of all peoples, ancient and modern, that a comparison of one with the other is highly suggestive. It is true that even in the days of Gideon and of Samuel the power of the prophet may have been conceived as coming from Jehovah, and yet the form of the belief and the practice connected with it are so nearly identical with the world-wide notions to which we have referred that we can scarcely doubt that it also was a development from this primitive folk-belief.

In fine, then, these early prophets were men subject to various unusual experiences, they had visions, heard voices, or, as we should say with our psychological sophistication, they had visual and auditory hallucinations. They were sometimes seized with frenzy and uttered strange words, and when in this state they were regarded by the awe-struck onlookers as clearly in the control of some extraneous power, which, as time went on, was naturally regarded as Jehovah's spirit. But whether the power be only the Indian's *manitou*, or spirits, or the national god, the significant point is that the person is supposed to be possessed because of his unusual behavior or because of his extraordinary experiences. This whole cycle of beliefs is a development of our natural human tendency to associate a peculiar potency with any object which strikes us as somewhat out of the ordinary.

If the matter were left here the reader would no doubt get the impression that prophetism is merely a phase of human pathology, a disease of religion, as it were, of negative rather than of positive value. There is, however, more to be said, and in the light of it I believe that prophetism will be seen to be a positive force in the development of religion. It has been of importance in the emergence of the higher ethical religions from the primitive types. These latter, as is well known, are largely expressions of tribal or group life rather than of individual need or aspiration. The single person has little standing aside from his place in the tribe; the gods are not interested in him as an individual but in the group to which he belongs. Primitive religion is in great degree a matter of custom which has gradually and unconsciously accumulated until it controls completely the behavior of each individual in the group and prescribes as well what the things are which he shall

regard as good or bad. In such a régime it is impossible for the individual person to contribute much to the development of a higher religious type. The ability to shape and develop thought presupposes a relatively well-developed personality. When the individual is merged in this rigid oversoul of custom he really has no personality of his own. Now, one of the phenomena of social development has been the development of individuality, and, along with it, of those types of society which offer freer play to man as man. Not all sections of the human race have been able to accomplish this, but only those which have so succeeded have been progressive races.

## THE APOSTLE PAUL IN ATHENS

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Athens lies in the plain of Attica, a triangular tract washed on two sides by the Aegean. The situation was a happy one. The modern city crouches low amid a group of hills. Immediately to the northeast stands Mount St. George, the ancient Lycabettus, while to the southwest, really a continuation of the ridge, are the Acropolis and the Areopagus; to the southeast is Hymettus, to the northeast stands Pentelicus; and farther away to the north, Parnes. Between Pentelicus and Parnes rises the river Cephissus, once giver of fertility to the Attic fields. From the south it is joined by the Ilissus from the flank of Hymettus. Once another stream, Eridanus, entered the Ilissus from the southeast. The first two are shadows of their former selves, and of the last named there remain only the springs that possibly were once its source.

What was Athens in Paul's day? What prospect met his eye? What problems engaged the attention of her scholars, what was the social and religious life, and how did the apostle find himself oriented in the life and thought of this ancient seat of culture? It was not the city of today. South and west of the present site, covering the low hills and the valleys between, lie the scattered ruins of the ancient metropolis, now for the most part deserted, save by the archaeologist, the tourist, and the stroller. Here stand the ruins of the Acropolis, the theater of Dionysus, the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, and the Areopagus. Today the town lies at the foot of Lycabettus: the ancient town, or a good part of it, lay west of the Acropolis. That is, the city, leaving the ancient site, has moved east and north as far as Lycabettus. This tendency, some think, dates back to Roman times.

Nor was the city of antiquity quite the city of Paul's day. There were many historic sites, but the old creative spirit was not

there. Alexandria, and to a lesser degree Antioch, Pergamum, and Rhodes, had won the leadership in the world of letters. The culture of Greece had followed in the wake of Alexander's armies, and Athens at this time was a staid provincial, academic town possessed of hallowed memories. The beautiful works of art in the Hellenistic period come from across the Aegean, the islands and mainland of Asia Minor. In a measure the literary traditions had been preserved though far outshone by the scholarly wealth of Alexandria. Moreover there was a different atmosphere. The city of Pericles had been a Hellenic city. The Athens of Paul was a Hellenistic city, embodying a composite civilization, the joint product of Greece and the Orient.

Paul's last preaching point had been at Beroea, and what we know of his route from that place is comprised in the words, *ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*. It seems highly probable that Paul traveled by land from Beroea to some port south of that city, and took boat thence for Athens, going, possibly, by the inner course between Euboea and the mainland. En route he passed spots of historic interest, as Artemisium, Thermopylae, and Marathon, while the most sightly point on the route would be Olympus, ancient home of the gods and the focal point of Greece. It is fair to presume that Paul entered Athens by way of the Piraeus: at least that was the usual route. The landscape was much as it ever had been. Salamis lay in the distance, seemingly a part of Megaris. To the north was Parnes, Hymettus to the south, and straight ahead extended a line of hills gradually rising behind the city to the rocky top of Lycabettus. Of the long walls that once joined Piraeus and Athens only scattered blocks remained to mark the line of direction. On the left as the apostle entered the city gates was the ancient cemetery of Ceramicus. To the right he would see a group of lofty pillars. Here tradition marked the site where disappeared the last traces of Deucalion's flood. The beginning of the temple really dates to Peisistratus; was interrupted by revolution and the Persian war; resumed on a gigantic scale by the Syrian Antiochus IV, and suffered no considerable changes until the time of Hadrian, who completed and dedicated the structure 130 A.D., nearly a century after Paul's day. One of the seven wonders of the world,

the temple was probably never actually occupied. Farther to the right Paul could have visited the Stadium, scene of the Panathenaic games, a huge amphitheater built in an excavated hollow of the hill, and capable of seating 50,000 people. Had he turned to the left, Paul would have found himself in the vicinity of the Acropolis, the most historic and the sightliest spot in Athens. At the foot of the rock stood the theater of Dionysus. Here centered the civic and religious life of all Greece. Here were enacted the masterpieces of the great tragedians and of Attic comedy. Here centered the cult of Dionysus. Here gathered the flower of Greece in the pomp of procession, and in communion with their country's gods. In Paul's day the simple orchestra had given place to a huge stage. This great semicircular theater could seat 17,000 spectators. But the focal point of Athens was the Acropolis, the crowning feature of whose magnificent buildings was the Parthenon. Here were stored votive offerings dedicated to the goddess Athena; here had been kept the bank of the Athenian state and of the Delian Confederacy; here was the home of the great statue of Athena Parthenos, overlaid with plates of gold so wrought that they could be removed and again fastened on. Thirty feet high, the statue was clad in helmet and long robe, the aegis at its breast; in one hand was a lance, in the other a six-foot statue of victory.<sup>1</sup> Outside the temple stood another, a bronze statue of Athena, constructed from the battle spoils of Marathon, and so huge that the burnished helmet and lance tip caught the eye of the returning voyager as he rounded the point of Sunium. In Paul's day more recent buildings disfigured the scene, notably a temple to Rome and Augustus, erected before the east front of the Parthenon.

Doubtless many of the views that met the apostle's eyes were the same as now. There were the stalls of olive, fruit, and fish dealers. There was the usual clamor and the haggling over wares, the usual crowd of small traders, tourists, and sight-seers from other cities including even Rome. Through the brilliantly decorated porches that skirted the market-place passed an unending procession.

Paul's first experience had been with the populace: "So then

<sup>1</sup> There is a tradition that the statue continued until the fifth century A.D.

in the synagogue he argued with the Jews and the devout ones,<sup>2</sup> and in the market-place day after day with whomsoever he chanced to meet (*πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας*)."

In the course of his teaching, he fell in with some professional philosophers who either had turned aside to hear this new traveling teacher or had become interested from rumors they had heard. The philosophy of Athens at this time was a strange congeries of voices. Greek speculative philosophy had closed with Aristotle and after him thought took on an entirely different turn. From Alexander on, the rocking of empires, wiping out of national lines and distinctions, and absolute destruction of precedents created a profound impression that deepened as time advanced. In this shifting panorama how shall man find contentment and satisfaction? And, naturally, two quite different solutions were in course of time propounded. The Epicureans found their hope in the pursuit of pleasure. But, though not disciples of the strenuous life, Epicureanism is not the travesty it is currently thought to have been. Pleasures are to be selected with caution, untempered desires are to be shunned, and intellectual poise (*σωφροσύνη*) is to be cultivated. The pleasure that is to be the highest good is that which will work the largest *ultimate* good. He who has come to the philosophic mind has escaped confusion, annoyance, fear, superstition. Doubtless later disciples were more lax than their master, yet this was the focal point of their teaching. The wise man of the Stoics, on the other hand, was he who lived in accordance with Nature. Desires are to be curbed, and the temperature of the soul, so to speak, is to be kept evenly with that of the world around. What ever is, was to be. But this asceticism is confessedly more than flesh can bear, and so is to be recognized as a state of mind attained only by the philosopher, who frees himself entirely from emotions, attains to perfect health of soul, and deletes all passions.

One thing that had stirred Paul's spirit was the great number of statues of gods. We know from other sources that the Athenians were among the most religious of peoples, the most pious of all

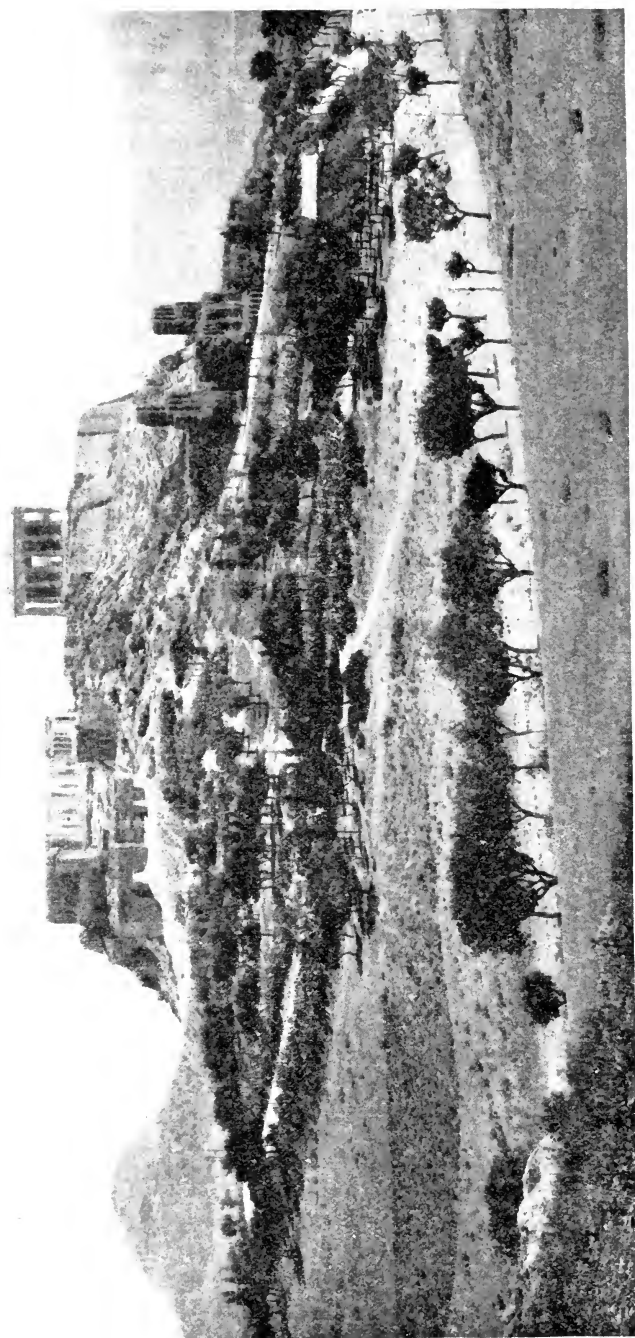
<sup>2</sup> Gentiles who attached themselves to the moral and spiritual elements of the Jewish religion, and worshiped in the synagogue with the Jews, but did not assume to observe the ritual and ceremonial law of Judaism.

Greeks. Not only were there statues and altars erected to the several divinities, but in case of an averted calamity or a public deliverance whose divine origin was uncertain, an altar would be erected, inscribed "To the unknown God." It was the sight of these statues and the thought of confounding the spiritual with the material product of the worshiper's handicraft that stirred the apostle's mind. Paul was an educated man. At Jerusalem he learned from Gamaliel the tenets of Judaism. In his native Tarsus he had derived an acquaintance with the Graeco-Roman thought. As a keen observer he had picked up much in the course of his travels. It was not an ignorant man that disputed with the philosophers that day, yet Paul was not deeply learned in Greek thought and literature, and would not be at home among the scholars of Greece.

Paul's discussion created a division. Some derisively called him a spermolog (babbler), a picker-up of seeds. This name was applied primarily to the crow that flew about the fields, picking up seeds here and there; and secondly, to fellows that hung around the markets and caravans picking up a living from whatever chance brought to their hand. Intellectually, a spermolog was a man who lived off his wits either by playing the courtier or buffoon, or by picking up philosophical odds and ends. To some Paul was a stray spermolog. To others he was much more impressive. Paul had preached Jesus and the resurrection, more precisely "Jesus and Anastasis." Jesus was a deity, evidently, and it seems to have been assumed that Anastasis was a female deity. Hence here was a preacher with new divinities, new altars, and new cults.

Paul now stands before the Areopagus, and here scholars go apart. It is argued by some critics that a traveling preacher or philosopher would not come to the notice of this august body of Athenian judiciary, and that a *place* is meant, namely, Mars Hill. It is argued on the other hand that it would be equally incongruous to bring this hearing to a spot connected with the sacred traditions, and further, that the top of that hill was not large enough to meet the situation. It must be confessed that literary references<sup>3</sup> favor the latter view.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Cicero, *Atticus*, I. xiv. 5; so *De natura deorum*, II. 29, 74; *Resp.* I. 27, 43; so also an inscription of A.D. 50-100 (Ramsay, *Paul, Traveler and Roman Citizen*, p. 261). Cf. Lucian, *Timon of Athens*, 46, 50; *Isoc.*, *Areop.*, 57.



ATHENS



It nowhere appears that we are dealing here with a trial or with anything more than a hearing. It further appears that the Areopagus court—though named from its original place of meeting—at the time in question met not on Mars Hill but in the Agora. The language is at least not contradictory to this view: ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον ἤγαγον (vs. 19); σταθεὶς . . . ἐν μέσῳ Ἀρείου Πάγου (vs. 22); ἐξῆλθον ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν (vs. 33). If the trial were on the hill, then the crowd would have gone up the hill and at the close they would have gone down again. There is no going up or down necessitated by the text. It further seems from various allusions that this court exercised considerable watch-care—as did the government in other cities—over the entire system of education, public manners and morals, the care of the young, and similar points, though questions of foreign religions and charges of impiety came up before the popular courts.

Paul's address before this assembly would read somewhat as follows: first stating the occasion (vss. 22–23) and announcing his theme (vs. 23b):

(*Occasion*) Gentlemen of Athens: I observe that in every respect you are extraordinarily religious, for as I was going about and looking at the sacred objects in your city, I came also upon an altar on which had been inscribed, "TO AN UNKNOWN GOD."

(*Theme*) What then you, groping, worship in the dark, this I proclaim to you.

(*Argument*) God, who created the world and all therein, this one, Lord of heaven and earth, ¶ does not dwell in man-made temples nor does he need the worship of men since it is He who gave life and breath and all things to all men. ¶ And He created of one<sup>4</sup> material every race of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth, marking off their prescribed times and the bounds of their habitations, ¶ that they might seek God, whether they could apprehend and come to know Him, and that too, He being not far away from any one of us. ¶ For in Him we live and move and have our being, as also certain poets among you have said,

For we also are his offspring.

(*Exhortation*) ¶ Therefore, inasmuch as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to consider the divine as something like gold or silver or stone, the work of human skill and thinking. ¶ Verily God, although He overlooked the times of ignorance, now enjoins all men everywhere to repent, ¶ for He has

<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ἐνός—so Codd. **AB**: ἐξ ἐνός αἵματος (DEHLP). This latter reading, "of one blood," would imply the universal kinship of the race.

appointed a day when he is going to judge the whole inhabited world in righteousness by the man He has designated, ¶ tendering faith to all by raising Him from dead men.

The arrangement is orderly. Paul states the occasion, announces his theme, and then divides his discourse into two parts—the argument and the exhortation. The argument is fivefold: God created the universe; he is not served by men's hands; he made man and intends that man shall seek him; and, finally, we live in him—appealing to the poets, whom his hearers would hardly repudiate. The exhortation is fourfold: We must think of the Godhead in suitable terms; the day of ignorance is past; there impends a day of judgment; and the one who is to be the judge has even now been raised from dead men.

Five points appear: the theistic view of the universe; the spiritual conception of God; the immanence of God; final moral accountability, and the resurrection. It is interesting to note that while the Ionian philosophers<sup>5</sup> were seeking in some material element the universal essence of material being, and were identifying moving matter with life,<sup>6</sup> Hebrew thinkers were propounding a theistic view of the world. Plutarch,<sup>7</sup> indeed, a contemporary of Paul, seemed to have grasped the higher conception since he can use *θεός, ὁ θεός,<sup>8</sup> οἱ θεοί, τὸ θεῖον.<sup>9</sup>* In the main, however, common thought had not traveled that far. As stated above, ethical philosophy was uppermost. For a physical philosophy the Epicureans took refuge in the atomistic theory (somewhat qualified) of Democritus, the mission of physics being the freeing of the mind from superstition. The Stoic belief is well phrased by Pope's words, "We are all parts of one stupendous whole, of which nature the body is but God the soul."

For Epicurean and Stoic death ended all. For the latter indeed a vague notion of immortality is claimed by some; even so, it is not absolute immortality but more an extension of time.<sup>10</sup> Pythagoras

<sup>5</sup> Beginning with Thales, *ca.* 640 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Cushman, *Beginner's Hist. of Phil.*, p. 23; Erdmann, *Hist. of Phil.*, I, §§21 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ca.* 40-120 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., "Delay of the Deity," chaps. 17, 20, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Similarly Anaximander and Xenophanes.

<sup>10</sup> Rogers, *Hist. of Phil.*, 170.

had taught that these bodies of ours are sepulchers in which the soul possessed of a heavenly origin is for a time entombed, passing thence through a series of incarnations, some higher, some lower.<sup>11</sup> In Plato the soul enters and departs from this world again and again, maintaining, however, the continuity of its existence and remaining the same as to its essential nature.<sup>12</sup> How then to this mixed throng did Paul's doctrine of Anastasis appeal? The true meaning must by this time have been apparent.

Those who heard were divided in opinion. Some simply indulged in ribaldry and gave this teacher no further attention. Others apparently thought the matter might be worthy of further consideration. A few accepted, but there was not, so far as we know, an Athenian church as the outcome of Paul's brief activity there.

<sup>11</sup> Sihler, *Testimonium Animae*, chap. vii.

<sup>12</sup> Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, I, chap. ix; Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy*, chap. ix.

## NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICA

The announcement of the existence in the library of the University of Toronto of a twelfth-century Gospels manuscript hitherto unknown to New Testament scholars awakens the hope that there may be other such manuscripts in this country hidden in private collections or deposited in university libraries, and as yet unreported in the printed lists of such materials. It also recalls attention to the New Testament textual materials already known to exist in America.

Probably the oldest known manuscript of any part of the Greek New Testament is the third-century fragment of Matthew, discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1896-97, and now in the Museum of Science and Art at the University of Pennsylvania. It is the first leaf of a papyrus codex of the Gospel of Matthew, and contains vss. 1-9, 12, and 14-20 of the first chapter. Its text was published in the first volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (O.P. 2). With this may be mentioned two Oxyrhynchus parchments, now in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago, one, of the fifth century, preserving Rev. 16:17, 18, 19, 20 (O.P. 848), and the other, of the fifth or sixth century, containing Mark 10:50, 51; 11:11, 12 (O.P. 3). The schoolboy's copy of Rom. 1:1-7, an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of about A.D. 316 (O.P. 209); the parchment fragment of Matt. 1:21-24; 1:25-2:2, a leaf from a fifth- or sixth-century codex (O.P. 401); and the papyrus leaf containing I John 4:11-17, in a fourth- or fifth-century hand (O.P. 402) now belong to Harvard University.

Much greater importance attaches of course to the beautiful uncial of the four Gospels which Mr. Freer of Detroit secured in Egypt in 1907, and of which much has been said in this journal and others, since its announcement in the *Biblical World* for February, 1908. The great age of this manuscript, which is referred to the fourth or fifth century, its completeness, for the only quire lost from it was anciently supplied, and the strange character of its text set it beside the famous Codex Bezae, in the list of the great New Testament uncials. Its text is to be published the coming autumn. Mr. Freer's manuscript of the epistles of Paul is of the fifth century, and while very fragmentary, promises an important contribution to the Greek text, when its sixty leaves are separated and edited.

The cursive manuscripts of the New Testament are much more numerous. The appearance of the Toronto Gospels raises the number

of gospel cursives in America to ten. Two, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, belong to A. A. Benton, of Foxburg, Pennsylvania. Three others, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are in the library of Drew Theological Seminary, at Madison, New Jersey. One, a complete text of the four gospels, in a hand of the twelfth century, is in the possession of Syracuse University. Its text has been fully collated by Professor Hermon H. Severn, to whom I am indebted for a photograph of it. The Harvard Gospels, of the twelfth century, once lacked certain parts of



THE SYRACUSE GOSPELS

Luke 11:13-30

the Gospel of John, but these have been supplied on paper leaves in a later hand. The Newberry Gospels, in the Newberry Library, Chicago, is also referred to the twelfth century, and is complete. The Haskell Gospels, in Haskell Oriental Museum, at the University of Chicago, is much later, belonging to the fifteenth century, and is by no means complete. Yet it is a good example of a large well-written cursive of the late period.

To these must now be added the Toronto Gospels, the tenth gospel cursive to appear in America, and the third that is complete in the original hand. It belongs to the close of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, and presents more interesting textual features

than any other American cursive known to me; although the Syracuse text may prove as good. The most interesting page of the Toronto Gospels is that preserving John 7:45—8:15, from which the Pericope on the Woman taken in Adultery (7:53—8:11) was originally wanting. This alone marks the text of the Toronto manuscript as of more than usual cursive excellence, for the great majority of mediaeval manuscripts contain the pericope as an original part of their text. A later user of the manuscript felt the omission, however, and inserted the pericope from another manuscript, probably a century or two later, indicating by a sign  $\cdot$  the place in the text at which his marginal addition should be introduced. The Toronto text shows many points of interest, and exhibits marked affinity with the ninth-century uncial codices Cyprius and Petropolitanus at Paris and St. Petersburg (KII). The Toronto codex was purchased from an English dealer by Dr. Henry Scadding of Toronto, more than twenty years ago, and at his death in 1901 was left by him to the University of Toronto. It possesses an added interest as the first gospel cursive to appear in Canada, and as never hitherto having found a place in the long lists of New Testament cursives, compiled by Professor Gregory, Professor von Soden, and Dr. Scrivener.

The only cursive of the Pauline epistles known to be in America is that in the possession of Drew Theological Seminary. Its quire numbers show that it once contained the Acts as well as the Epistles of Paul. It is interesting for being dated, A.D. 1366–69, and for the fact that it bears the signature of the scribe who wrote it, Joasaph, well known as the writer of four other New Testament cursives, in various parts of the world.

Twenty lectionary or lesson-book manuscripts of the gospels or the epistles are scattered among American collections at Cambridge and Buckland, Massachusetts; Foxburg and Sewickley, Pennsylvania; Madison, New Jersey; New York, Princeton, Providence, and Chicago. The only one of these not included in the latest printed list (Gregory, 1909) is an incomplete lectionary of the epistles, probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which is bound up with the Haskell Gospels and has thus failed to be separately registered by the cataloguers of texts.

New Testament textual materials in languages other than Greek are probably even more numerous and hardly less important. The Golden Latin Gospels belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, has lately been sumptuously published in collation. The Williams Manuscript of the Syriac New Testament, dated 1471 and now at Utica, New York, supplies a text of the four catholic epistles which are wanting

in most Syriac manuscripts. The ponderous Syriac New Testament manuscript belonging to the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut but deposited in the library of Union Theological Seminary, New York, has in the gospels a text very unlike the Peshito, and very like the Hark-



*Permission of the Sunday School Times Co.*

#### THE HASKELL GOSPELS

Matthew 1:1-4

lensian version made in A.D. 616 by Thomas of Harkel, although Dr. Isaac H. Hall affirmed that it represented not the Harklensian but the lost Philoxenian version made in A.D. 508, and otherwise unrepresented in gospel manuscripts. Several Peshito Syriac manuscripts of tolerable age have been brought to this country by Armenian and Syrian students and have doubtless found their way into American collections.

An excellent example of an Ethiopic gospel manuscript was given to the Newberry Library, Chicago, twelve years ago by Mr. Edward E. Ayer. It contains the Gospel of John, complete, in a hand probably of the fifteenth century, a very fair antiquity for an Ethiopic manuscript, for few of them are really ancient. Some characteristic details of this manuscript are of curious interest. "He who buys this book with his wealth, he who steals it, and he who damages it, with the curse of Peter and Paul may he be smitten." The superscription to the gospel reads: "The Gospel of John, the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve apostles, is finished. He wrote it in Greek for the people of the city of the Ephesians in the thirtieth year after the ascension of our Lord in the flesh into heaven, in the reign of Nero, king of Rome."

It is much to be desired that these and such other textual materials as may be in this country unannounced and unregistered should be made known to scholars likely to be interested, in order that they may be properly listed in the handbooks, and their text explored. That a manuscript like the Toronto Gospels should have lain so long in an educational center like Toronto without revealing its existence to the scholars interested strongly suggests that other textual materials are lying about us unrecognized or neglected. It must be remembered that the endeavor of textual criticism is to register and describe in printed lists, constantly revised, every manuscript containing any part of the New Testament in Greek or in any oriental version, whether it be of the third century or the fifteenth. People forget that these lists aim at absolute completeness, and are steadily more and more approximating it. We must make sure that all that our American collections have to offer, and it is no longer an inconsiderable contribution, is duly reported and registered for the uses of textual study.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



## TRAVELING LIBRARIES FOR MINISTERS

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE has done pioneer work in many directions and at frequent intervals during the twenty-five years of its existence. Its outline courses led the way to the production of many valuable courses of Bible-study for adults. It has indirectly had much to do with the agitation which has resulted in graded Sunday-school lesson material. It has by valuable reading courses directed the attention of ministers to many important subjects, and has stirred the whole country at times with its appeals for a special Bible-Study Sunday.

It may be that history will show that its greatest service has been just this characteristic of starting a scheme which can be adopted by other organizations and institutions and so become a factor in the work of religious education. The latest plan which has emanated from the headquarters of the Institute is one for the circulation of traveling libraries. At present these libraries are wholly professional and intended for ministers. Although the ability of the Institute to purchase books for the libraries is extremely limited, all libraries purchased during the past year were circulated, some of them two or three times, each reader being permitted to keep a library for four months. The libraries have been circulated in Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri, Connecticut, Nevada, Massachusetts, Iowa, Colorado, Kansas, and several provinces of Canada.

A very interesting extension of the plan has been arranged for the benefit of missionaries in China. About thirty sets of the books upon one of the most popular courses, aggregating 360 volumes, will be shipped to China in time to reach a popular summer meeting-place of the missionaries. The libraries will there be distributed. Thirty mission stations will be supplied each with a library of most inspiring and scholarly volumes, all bearing upon the same general theme, and sufficient in number to provide all the solid reading which a missionary will wish to have during a year—for in China the period of holding the library will be one year instead of four months, as in this country.

Many readers of the *Biblical World* will realize that a mission station in China is scarcely more remote from centers of culture and good library facilities than some of the small charges in remote sections of our own country. Not necessarily spiritual starvation, but the starvation which

comes from total lack of intellectual stimulus either from new books or from contact with groups of cultured people, is a common condition under which the men who go out from some of our best theological seminaries labor for considerable periods. The change from the riches of a well-equipped theological seminary library upon which a student preparing for the ministry has learned to depend, to the utter lack of books and tools for his work makes the early years of a young man's ministry extremely difficult, and oftentimes painfully fruitless.

It is not alone the young man just out of the seminary who suffers from lack of professional books, but that larger group of men who in humble fields have found opportunity for service which appeals to them too strongly to permit them to exchange the opportunity, for a work which to the ordinary observer would seem more promising. To men of these classes the libraries furnished by the Institute bring inspiration and encouragement far in excess of the investment which secures their use.

In addition to the books, each library is accompanied by reviews of the volumes, prepared with special reference to making the reading as valuable as possible. Many clubs of ministers in the country might give themselves a year of great profit by meeting together for the discussion of the books in one or more of these libraries.

We suggest that those who read this article put themselves into touch as soon as possible with the office of the Institute, which is a division of the University of Chicago, and make arrangements to secure one of the libraries either during the summer or in the autumn. The subjects upon which libraries have been provided during the past year are interesting and valuable. They are as follows: The Psychology of Religion and Its Bearing upon Religious Education; World Evangelization, Its Progress and Problems; Recent Phases of Theological Thought; Constructive Theories of Modern Scholarship concerning the Bible, the Church, and Religion; The Character of Jesus in the Light of Modern Scholarship.

## Book Reviews

### THE MESSAGES OF THE POETS<sup>1</sup>

Our Bible is the remains of a noble literature. Many kinds of literary forms meet in it. A knowledge of these and of their variant nature is of supreme moment for a proper appreciation and a correct interpretation of the biblical message. What if we find songs of love and war and revenge and valor set in the sacred page! The melodies of the street and the vineyard and the hearth mingle their voices with the passion of the suffering prophet and the calm reflections of the wise, or the narratives of the historian, or the praises of multitudes within the gates of Zion. Literary differentiation is a means to true interpretation.

The editors of "The Messages of the Bible" are to be commended for the comprehensive scheme they have adopted in putting the general reader into intelligent relation with the Bible. In the "Historical Series for Bible Students" one is made acquainted with the scenes and situations that gather about the various events. The present series aims at giving "the exact impression which the words as originally heard or read must have made upon those for whom they were delivered." No attempt is made to reproduce the technical and critical apparatus of criticism. The results of scholarship are presented in popular form.

*The Messages of the Poets* comprises a study of the books of Job, Canticles, and of some thirty poems scattered through the books of the Bible. The name of the author, professor of Semitics in Cornell University, guarantees all that is desired in scholarship. He has endeavored to give the original poems in an English translation which reveals the Hebrew metre and strophic structure. In the preface we meet an interesting statement, viz., that "every new effort to interpret them has deepened the conviction of the author of this book that most of them belong to an earlier period than is generally admitted by the leading critics today. . . . The age of David and Solomon appears to have been richer in literary productions of abiding worth than recent scholars have been disposed to acknowledge. On the other hand, the older songs seem to have preserved more of the polytheism and crude

<sup>1</sup> *The Messages of the Poets*. By Nathaniel Schmidt, M.A. New York: Scribner, 1911. 415 pages. \$1.25.

religious practices left behind by Israel's subsequent growth than has been suspected." The author claims the distinction of discovering the poetic character of the Song of Youth and Age in Ecclesiastes.

The scheme of the book is admirable. A good bibliography is appended. The introduction assumes the character of a first division in the volume. It consists of seven chapters dealing with (1) the poetry of the ancient Hebrews; (2) the general character of this poetry; (3) the form of Hebrew poetry, as rhythm, metre, parallelism, strophic structure, assonance, alliteration, rhyme; (4) the text and translation; (5) the poets of Israel; (6) the ethical value of the poems; (7) their religious significance.

In the main division of the volume each poem is translated, a set of notes is supplied, and an exposition given. The attempt to reproduce a strophic structure will have a markedly beneficial effect on the English reader. From the standpoint of the consensus of Hebrew scholars this is where the volume may be deficient. To determine the strophic structure of Hebrew poetry is one of the most perplexing problems in Old Testament study. The accidents of time and possibly later systems of accentuation may have obscured the first form, whatever its nature may have been. Not a few scholars feel that in many cases it is doubtful if we can recover the original. Here there will doubtless be some disagreement with the author. It would seem that the writer agrees frequently with Duhm. Thus the dialogues of Job, except the Elihu prose address, is put in a four-line strophe. Does a four-line strophe correspond to the thought-divisions found in the speeches? Six, eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, seem to occur. In chap. 4 eight seems to be the prevailing structure; in chaps. 6 and 7 twelve, with possibly sixteen in two cases; in chaps. 9 and 10 twelve, with several smaller groups. Chap. 28 is regarded as an interpolation. The author finds a fourteen-line strophe. To get this vs. 12 (=vs. 20) is inserted before vss. 1 and 7. Vs. 24 is placed after vs. 11, and vs. 28 is omitted altogether. Numerous deletions are found according to the personal interpretation.

If from the shorter poems we take the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1-43), we find that it is arranged in six-line strophes. The following notes explain the treatment.

Vss. 5-7 seem to be an interpolation. In vs. 8 we should read with the Greek version "sons of God" instead of "sons of Israel"; in vs. 9 strike "for" and substitute "Israel" for "his people"; and in vs. 11 read "upon his pinions." Vs. 12 interrupts the description and is clearly a

marginal gloss. "Earth" is an addition, making the line too long in vs. 13*a*; "thou shalt drink" in vs. 13*b* and the second line in vs. 15, as seen by the personal pronoun, as well as the fourth line, are also additions. Vss. 17 and 18 are an interpolation. "And he said" is added in vs. 19, correctly so far as the sense goes, but making the line too long. Vss. 29-31 are an interpolation. Vs. 39 is also interpolated.

Most scholars find the strophic system here to be irregular, or give up the attempt to recover one if such really existed. What shall we say of the much older Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:2-31) which we find arranged in four-line strophes? The metrical and strophical arrangement of this poem is exceedingly perplexing if we are to judge by the remarks of exegetes. In such cases there will be great variance in opinion. We would rather have preferred less regular strophes and the inclusion frequently of more of our present text. Are we certain that the early popular poetry of the Hebrews was such a finished product? Naïve and emotional, breaking forth in joyous and patriotic and martial outburst, we would not expect to find the finished product of later ages.

The translations convey the strong, virile character of early Hebrew poetry. The author rightly calls our attention to the low religious life as seen in the idea of God. As time goes on, Hebrew poetry becomes increasingly religious, more thoughtful and subjective, and in all probability more regular in structure.

The present volume goes forth to a good service. It will enliven interest in biblical poetry. Scholars may have a difference of opinion on some of the primitive forms, but the impression created in the mind of the English reader by the literary ability of the religious poets of Israel will be beneficial in many ways.

R. H. MODE

BRANDON, MANITOBA

## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects Gathered and Published as a Testimonial to C. A. Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., on the Completion of His Seventieth Year, January 15, 1911, by a Few of His Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. xvi+347.

The range of subjects treated in this volume reflects the wide interest of Dr. Briggs in all theological matters. As is fitting, the largest place in the volume is given to Old Testament and Semitic articles. The names of the contributors guarantee the high quality of the contributions. Among them are such men as C. H. Toy, Francis Brown, A. V. Williams Jackson, G. F. Moore, A. C. McGiffert, W. Adams Brown, and E. C. Moore. It is a book by scholars and for scholars.

CHEYNE, T. K. The Two Religions of Israel, with a Re-Examination of the Prophetic Narratives and Utterances. London: A. & C. Black, 1911. Pp. xv+428. 12s. 6d.

Another attempt on the part of the learned author to interpret the prophetic religion of the Hebrews as in large part a reaction and protest against an older type of religion which had its roots in North Arabia. Amid the continuous performance of Jerahmeel and his associates, many a flash of insight and of Dr. Cheyne's well-known critical acumen appear. But it is no book for the layman in biblical subjects.

RAMSAY, F. P. An Interpretation of Genesis, Including a Translation into Present-Day English. New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 347. \$2.00.

This is, according to the author, "a fresh attempt to understand and interpret the book [Genesis] by one who believes in its full historicity, and therefore in its divine authority." The author adds nothing of importance to the arguments heretofore used to sustain the theory of authorship by Moses. His translation is fresh and vigorous, sometimes decidedly so; e.g., "Once when Jacob prepared a stew, Esau came in from the open country, exhausted. 'Let me cram down some of the red stuff, please, that red stuff,' he said to Jacob, 'for I am exhausted.'"

FISKE, A. K. The Great Epic of Israel. The Web of Myth, Legend, History, Law, Oracle, Wisdom, and Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews. New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1911. Pp. xii+376. \$1.50.

This is an interesting survey of the religious history of Israel by one who has accepted the modern viewpoint as to the Old Testament and seeks here to present the results of the modern view to the general public in an intelligible and interesting way. The author is well acquainted with modern interpretation and has made a very readable book.

#### ARTICLES

SPRENGLING, M. Chronological notes from the Aramaic Papyri. The Jewish Calendar-Dates of the Achaemenians (Cyrus-Darius II). *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1911, pp. 233-66.

A very careful and painstaking study of the recently discovered Assuan Papyri from the point of view of the light thrown by them on some hitherto obscure matters of chronology.

LUCKENBILL, D. D. Benhadad and Hadadezer. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-84.

A new treatment of a perplexing historical problem. The author decides on good grounds against the identification of these two royal names as indicating one and the same person. He then proceeds to account for the narrative of I Kings, chaps. 20-22, by a new interpretation and analysis.

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

SANDAY, W. Studies in the Synoptic Problem, by Members of The University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Pp. xxvii+456. 12s. 6d., net.

A notable group of Oxford men—Sanday, Hawkins, Streeter, Allen, Bartlet, Addis, and Williams—contribute papers to this volume, which is edited by Professor Sanday. The volume represents some of the work done in recent years in Dr. Sanday's Seminar in the Synoptic Problem, and, while rather too much is made of the German "Q" as a source document, the papers are valuable discussions of important phases in synoptic study.

BUCHANAN, E. S. The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (*b*). Being the First Complete Edition of the Evangelium Purpureum in the Cathedral Library at Verona. With an Introduction Descriptive of the MS. With two facsimiles. (Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. VI.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Pp. xxiii+198. 21s.

Mr. Buchanan prints the text of the famous Verona manuscript of the Old-Latin gospels in full, line for line, prefacing it with a valuable introduction describing the manuscript and discussing its text. The manuscript is of purple parchment inscribed in silver and gold, and dates from the fifth century. Its text is akin to that of Corbeiensis, both exhibiting the pre-Vulgate type prevalent in the second half of the fourth century in North Italy and Gaul (p. xxii).

ROBERTSON, A. T. John The Loyal: Studies in the Ministry of the Baptist. New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. ix+315. \$1.25 net.

This new volume on John the Baptist is not a collection of sermons, though it seizes every homiletical opportunity, nor is it a critical investigation, though many works of criticism are cited, and the notes are full of technical matter. It will be homiletically suggestive to preachers, but makes no historical contribution to its subject. Notices in Mark, the Infancy Narratives, and John are treated alike. The style is breezy and readable, but sometimes decidedly harsh: "Quit being afraid, Zacharias" (p. 8). The printing is not entirely accurate; e.g., Geikie always appears as Geike, Chwolson is Chowlson, etc.

BLAGDEN, CLAUDE M. Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude. (The Revised Version edited for the Use of Schools.) Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Pp. 96.

An intelligent popular handbook covering six of the Catholic epistles with short scholarly introductions, and brief notes. The book is intended for young students. Mr. Blagden accepts the authenticity of all of the epistles he discusses except II Peter.

## RELATED SUBJECTS

### BOOKS

BUTTERFIELD, KENYON L. The Country Church and the Rural Problem. [The Carew Lectures at Hartford Theological Seminary, 1909.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1911. Pp. ix+153. \$1.00.

The author knows both sides of his subject and is keenly alive to its importance. His book should constitute a powerful appeal to young men to give themselves to the solution of the problem of making the country church an efficient factor in moral life.

MCGIFFERT, A. C. Protestant Thought before Kant. [Studies in Theology.] New York: Scribner, 1911. Pp. xi+261. 75 cents.

The progress of Protestant thought from Luther to Kant is here traced in a fresh and vigorous way. Thoroughly conscious of the greatness of the contributions made by such men as Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin, Richard Hooker, Robert Browne, Grotius, Spencer, John Wesley, Jonathan Edwards, John Locke, Hume, Butler, and Voltaire, the author reviews their work sympathetically but with discrimination, and in several instances presents a conception of their thought very different from that which ordinarily prevails. The book is a valuable addition to the literature on an important period.

EMERTON, EPHRAIM. Unitarian Thought. New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. ix+309. \$1.50.

A very useful book to those who wish to know what Unitarianism as understood by its leading exponents really is. The professor of church history in the Harvard Divinity School is certainly qualified to speak upon this subject. The presentation is clear and attractive.

ALBEE, HELEN R. The Gleam. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911. Pp. 312. \$1.35.

A spiritual autobiography of one endowed with the ability to analyze her own psychological processes and with a deeply emotional and highly imaginative temperament. Her experiences include such things as automatic writing and psycho-therapy.

MCGLOTHLIN, W. J. Baptist Confessions of Faith. Philadelphia: The Baptist Publication Society, 1911. Pp. xii+368. \$2.50.

A collection of the creeds held by the various groups of Baptist churches from the time of the Anabaptists to the present. Creeds in Latin and other non-English tongues are all translated into English. The volume is a useful source book for the study of church history and theology.

DANA, W. B. A Day for Rest and Worship. Its Origin, Development, and Present-Day Meaning. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1911. Pp. 265. \$1.25.

The emphasis of this volume upon the need and value of Sabbath observance is commendable. The author's views as to its origin and development are hardly such as will commend themselves to present-day scholarship.

BUMPUS, JOHN S. A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms. Being a History and Explanation of Certain Terms Used in Architecture, Ecclesiology, Liturgiology, Music, Ritual, Cathedral Constitution, etc. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1911. Pp. 324. \$5 net.

Students of ecclesiastical history and institutions will find much to value and enjoy in this dictionary. Terms like Alb, Ambo, Amice, Angelus are explained and illustrated, and frequent references to literature on them point the way to further study. The author's main interest is Anglican, but many matters of Roman ecclesiastical usage are treated. The Greek church, however, is almost wholly passed over, doubtless of set purpose, since its usage and terminology are so different from those of western Europe. More than 450 terms are discussed.



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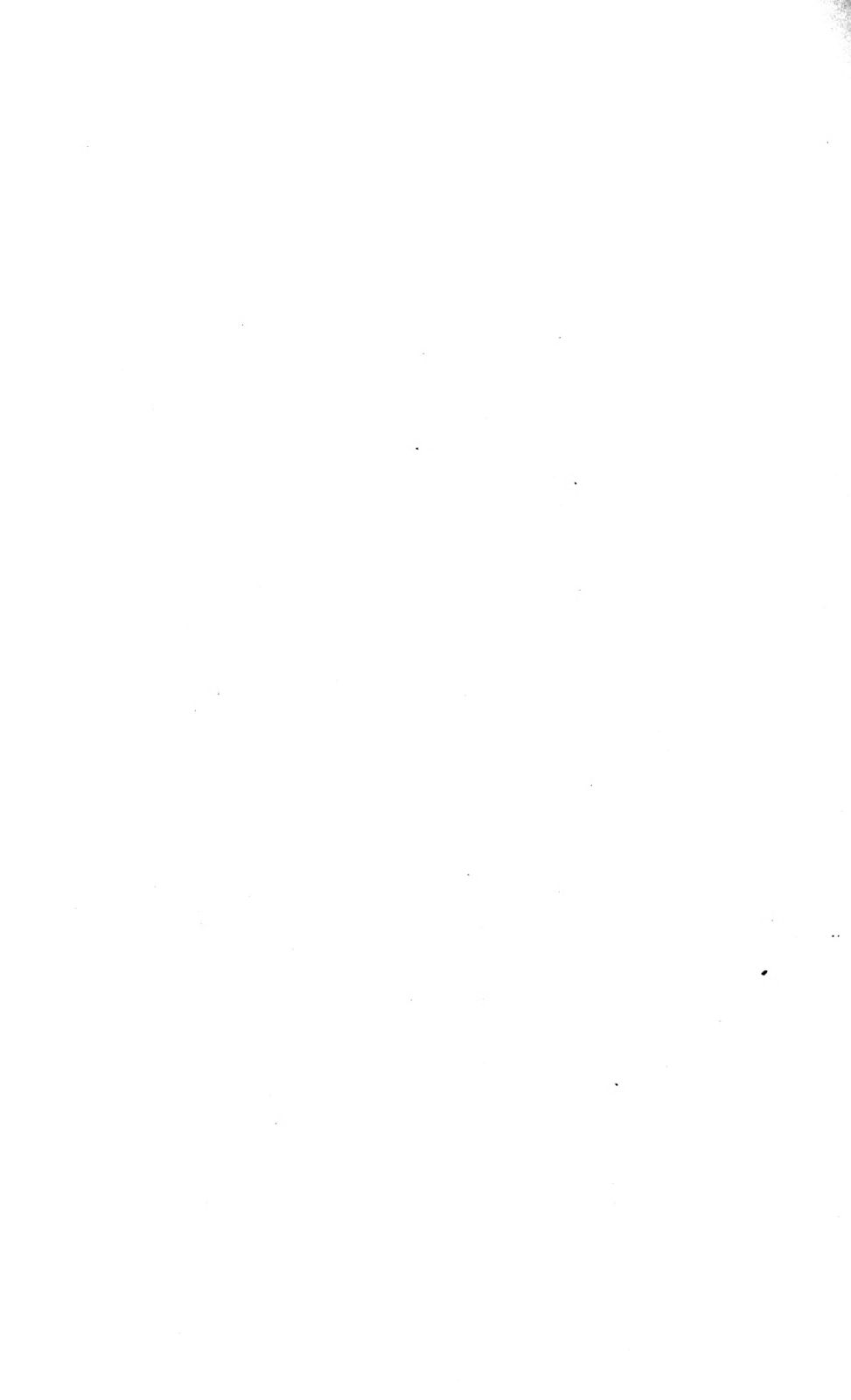
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